



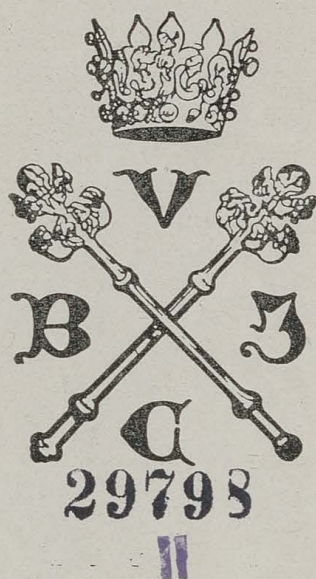
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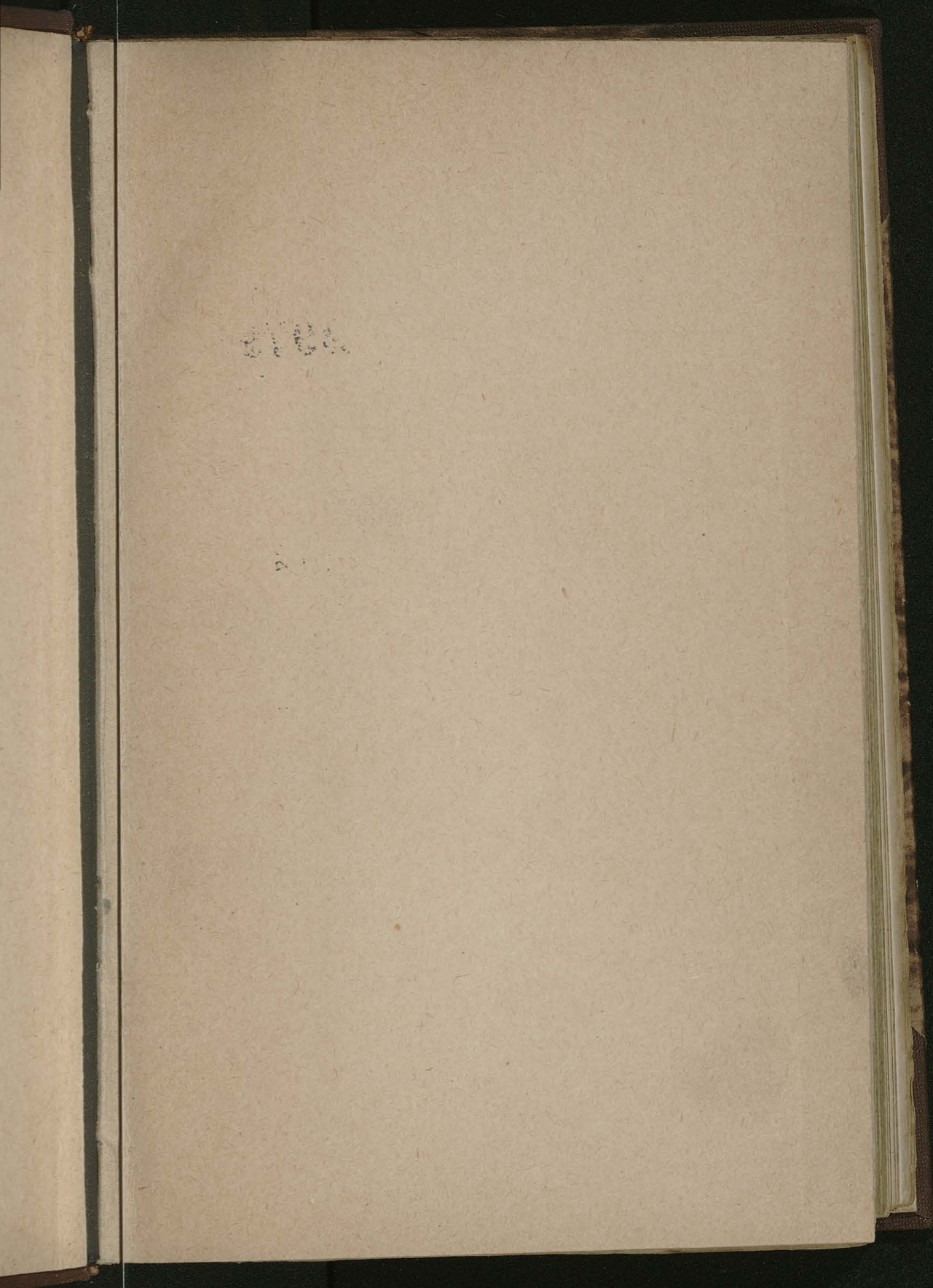
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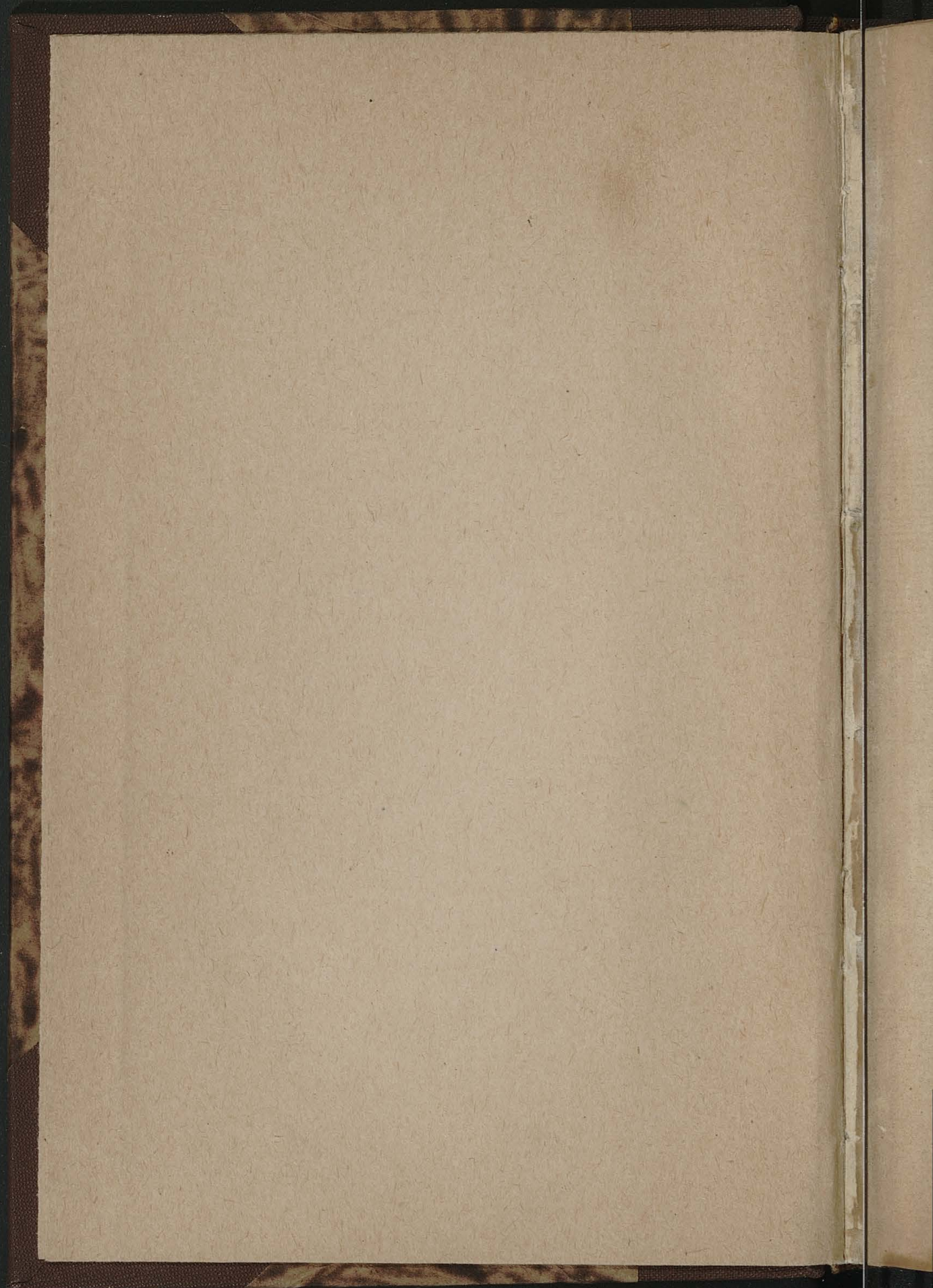
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T R A V E L S

I N T O

P O L A N D, R U S S I A, S W E D E N,

A N D

D E N M A R K.

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

By WILLIAM COXE,

A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON, AND PREBENDARY
OF SARUM.

AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE LORD BISHOP
OF SALISBURY.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

M D C C X C I I.

29798. II.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
Lord HERBERT.

MY LORD,

AS the advantages which I enjoyed from accompanying your Lordship upon your travels enabled me to collect the materials for the following work, it cannot be inscribed to any other person with so much propriety as to your Lordship. You, I flatter myself, will recollect with pleasure the result of those inquiries to which you were particularly attentive; and I am happy in this public opportunity

nity of expressing the grateful sense
which I entertain of being honoured
with your Lordship's friendship;
and of declaring the sincere regard
and attachment with which I am,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

MOST FAITHFUL

AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

WILLIAM COXE.

King's College, Cambridge,
April 2, 1784.

P R E-

P R E F A C E
TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following pages contain the result of that intelligence which I collected, and those observations which occurred, during my travels through the Northern kingdoms of Europe; and it is necessary to apprize the reader upon what foundation the principal facts are supported.

In regard to Poland, I was honoured with information from persons of the highest rank and authority; and fortunately obtained possession of some original letters written from Warsaw, before and during the Partition, which have enabled me to throw a considerable light over that interesting period. I presume, therefore, that the account of Poland comprehends many particulars, which have not been hitherto presented to the public.

vi PREFACE TO THE

With respect to Russia, as the Empress herself deigned to answer some queries relative to the state of the public prisons *; this gracious condescension in so great a sovereign could not but facilitate my further inquiries.

To this I must add, that the late celebrated historian †, Mr. Muller, favoured me with various communications on some of the most important and intricate parts of the Russian annals; and pointed out to me the most approved writers on this empire.

The nature of the Swedish government rendered the sources of information easy of access; and, since my return to England, several Swedish gentlemen, well versed in the constitution of their country, have supplied much additional intelligence.

As the materials which I acquired in Denmark were less extensive than those collected in the other parts, the account

* See Vol. III. p. 132.

† Mr. Muller died in the latter end of 1783. The Empress, who, in consideration of his great merit, had honoured him with the order of St. Vladimir, has, in respect to his memory, ennobled his family.

of that kingdom is confined to those circumstances which I was able to ascertain; it having been my invariable resolution never to adopt uncertain accounts, but to adhere solely to those facts which appeared to me to be derived from the most unquestionable authorities.

In the historical relations, I have had recourse to many English and foreign authors, and particularly to several German writers of unimpeached veracity, who were resident for a considerable time in some of the Northern kingdoms, and from whom I have drawn many anecdotes not known to the English reader.

Throughout this work, I have scrupulously cited the authors whom I have consulted; and have subjoined a list of the principal books employed on this occasion, with an explanation of the references by which they are distinguished.

I cannot close this preface without expressing my obligations to Mr. Wraxall, Mr. Pennant, and Dr. Pulteney, for their respective assistance, acknowledged in the

course of the work. Colonel Floyd also claims my sincerest thanks for communicating his accurate Journal of our Tour; to whose observations and descriptions, besides the extracts in the following pages, I gratefully confess myself indebted for many interesting particulars.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

THE Author published the first edition of this work in 1784; and the favourable manner in which the public received it, induced him to give an additional volume, including a continuation of those observations, which a subsequent journey into the northern kingdoms of Europe, in 1784 and 1785, enabled him to make; more particularly an account of those countries which he did not visit in his former tour; namely, Jutland, Norway, Livonia, Courland, and Prussia.

In the present edition those parts, which relate to the same subject, have been thrown together, and the remaining chapters of the additional volume arranged in as connected a manner as the nature of the work would admit.

POST-

P O S T S C R I P T.

IN the former editions of this work I reduced the Russian money to the English standard, and estimated the value of a rouble at 4*s.* or five to a pound sterling; which in 1778, when I first visited Russia, was nearly its average amount. When Peter the Great reformed the coinage, he proposed making the value of a rouble equal to a rix-dollar, or about 4*s.* 6*d.*; at which value, with a small fluctuation owing to accidental circumstances, it continued till the commencement of the Turkish war in 1770. Since that period the alteration of the coin has reduced the intrinsic value, as tried in the mint of London, to 3*s.* 2*d.* The excess of the imports above the exports, the number of remittances necessary for the payment of the troops employed against the Turks, and the great quantity of paper money in circulation, have also still farther contributed to diminish the value of the rouble in exchange with foreign countries; and in the course of the three last years

P O S T S C R I P T. xi

years the rouble has been more than once so low as 2*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*

But as this diminution was owing to circumstances not permanent in their nature, and as the war is now terminated, it may be presumed the nominal value will, as in most cases, soon exceed the intrinsic value of the rouble: we may therefore fairly rate the average value at 3*s.* 4*d.* or fix to a pound sterling.

Bemerton, February 28, 1792.

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The Map of Poland is taken principally from the general map of that country, published at Warsaw, by which the limits of the dismembered provinces were at first regulated; and from the particular maps published in Russia, Austria, and Prussia, ascertaining the respective boundaries, - - - to front p. i.

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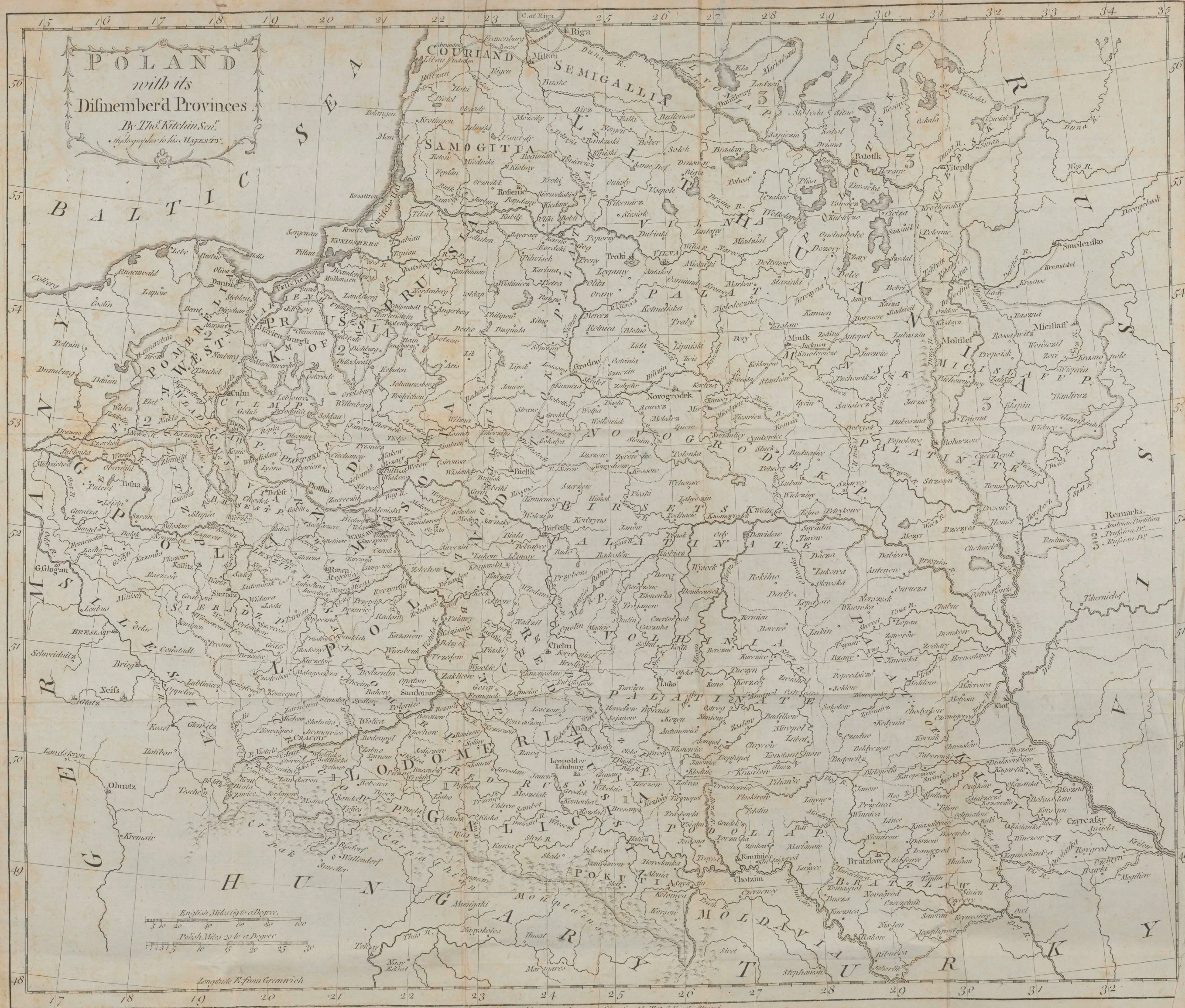
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TRAVELS



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T R A V E L S

I N T O

P O L A N D.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF POLAND.

B O O K I.

C H A P. I.

Researches into the origin and progress of the Polish government.—An inquiry into the causes of the gradual diminution of royal prerogative, and establishment of a monarchy wholly elective.—Licentious power and conduct of the nobles.—Bad effects of aristocratical authority.

IT is a matter of extreme difficulty to investigate in any country the origin and progress of its constitution; as well because the beginning of all histories is involved in obscurity and fable; as because that body of laws and usages, which forms the essence of

VOL. I.

B

every

every government, is not created at once, in any particular period, or by a single event, but generally results from a series of circumstances, many of them scarce separately discernible. In Poland, however, the political observer has this singular advantage, that a succession of accurate historians* (some of whom flourished soon after the æra when the most important branches of the Polish constitution were ascertained) have developed with uncommon precision and care the various occurrences and institutions, from which the extraordinary form of government, at present subsisting in that kingdom, was gradually derived. By means of their authentic narratives we are enabled to trace, in what manner, and from what concurrence of circumstances, a monarchy nearly absolute, sunk in the course of a few centuries, without any deposition of the prince or violent convulsion, into a state of almost total aristocracy.

A brief inquiry into the principal incidents which produced this remarkable constitution,

* Dlugoffius, the father of Polish history, was born in 1415, only 45 years after the demise of Casimir the Great, from whose reign Poland dates her written laws. He begins his history from the earliest period of the Polish annals, and carries it down to the year 1480.

accompanied

accompanied by such political reflexions as the progress of the detail suggests, will not, I flatter myself, prove uninteresting; and will properly introduce a view of Poland in its present state.

The sovereigns of Poland are usually ranged into four classes.

- I. Of the house of Lesko.
- II. Of Piast.
- III. Of Jaghellon.
- IV. Of different families.

These classes divide the history of Poland into four corresponding periods.

I. As the first * period is generally allowed to be entirely fabulous, the best Polish historians

* *Quæ de Lecho ejusque successoribus ad Piaſtum uſque et ultra memorantur, ſunt obſcura, fabuloſa, et falſa, quare ſilentio tranſmittimur, ne variis narrationibus immoremur*; are the words of Lengnich, *Hiſt. Polon.* p. 2. The fabulous ſtory of Leſko is as follows: Upon the death of Leſko I. duke of Poland, a race was appointed on horſeback, and the victor was to be nominated ſovereign. Leſzec, one of the candidates, in order to ſecure the victory, ſtrewed part of the courſe with nails, leaving a clear paſſage for his own horſe. This ſtratagem was diſcovered by another of the candidates, and made known to the people; the latter roſe, maſſacred Leſzec, and pro-

rians usually commence their narratives at the second æra.

II. The earliest part even of this second epoch has an air of romance; and the account of Piaſt, who gave his name to a line of kings, and from whom all the natives of Poland who have ascended the throne are to this day called Piaſt, is little else than a series of fictions. By some, he is said to have been a wheelwright, by others, a common peasant, and by all, to have gained the crown through the visible interposition of two angels. Nor indeed can we expect any faithful accounts of a people buried in barbarism, wholly without letters, and immersed in Pagan superstition. We cannot therefore date the authenticity of the Polish annals earlier than the accession of Micislaus II. the fourth sovereign of the line of Piaſt, A. D. 964. From his reign Poland began to be connected with Germany; the historians of which country, as well as those of Sweden and Denmark, throw a considerable light upon Polish affairs prior to the existence of native historians.

claimed the other duke, who assumed the name of Lesko II. The æra in which this Lesko reigned is so uncertain, that some historians refer it to the 6th, others to the 7th, and even to the 8th century.

Some

Some writers have observed, that during the whole of the second period the monarchy was always elective, and the sovereign limited in his power; others, on the contrary, have affirmed, that the crown was hereditary, and its authority absolute. But this controversy may be easily reconciled; the crown seemed hereditary from its continuance in the same family, and had at the same time an elective appearance, because, upon the death of the king, his successor was formally * nominated and recognized in an assembly of the nobility and clergy of the realm. With respect to the extent of the king's authority, his power, as in the generality of feudal governments when exercised by an able and enterprising prince, triumphed over all controul; but, in the hands of an incapable sovereign, was easily depressed by the privileges of a licentious and warlike nobility.

Towards the close of this second period, 1347, Casimir the Great retrenched the turbu-

* Memorati ergo principes, non per ejusmodi electionem, qualis hodie celebratur, ad regnum pervenerunt, sed electio quam passim nominant scriptores, revera erat declaratio procerum & nobilium, quæ præcedebat, antequam regimen novi principes ingrederentur. Lengnich, Jus Publicum Regni Poloniæ, v. I. p. 58.

lent and oppressive authority of the principal barons; and granted certain immunities to the nobles and gentry. This great monarch was aware, that no other expedient could introduce order into this kingdom, than a limitation of the vast influence possessed by the * Palatines or principal nobility: if he had been succeeded by a line of hereditary monarchs, it is probable that the barons would never have recovered their former ascendancy; and that the feudal system would have been gradually annihilated in Poland, as in other parts of Europe.

But his nephew Louis, king of Hungary, who succeeded him, being a foreigner, was obliged, in order to insure the possession of the throne, to subscribe certain conditions, which infringed the power of the sovereign, and gave fresh vigour to that of the barons and inferior nobles. The principal concessions made by Louis were, not to impose any additional taxes by his mere regal authority without the consent of the nation; and that in case of his demise without male heirs, the privilege of appointing a sovereign should re-

* Palatinorum et judicum infinita potestas coercita est, &c. Sarnicius, p. 1141.

vert to the nobles at large *. In consequence of this agreement, Louis was allowed to ascend the throne without opposition; and having no sons, he, with a view of insuring the succession to his son-in-law the Emperor Sigismond married to his eldest daughter Maria, promised, in addition to all the former grants, to diminish the taxes, to repair the fortresses at his own expence, and to confer no dignities or offices upon foreigners †.

III. The third period begins upon the death of Louis, 1382, when the Poles very politically set aside Sigismond, who would have been formidable to their newly-acquired immunities; and elected for their king Ladislaus Jaghellon duke of Lithuania, in consequence of his fully confirming all the stipulations of Louis, and espousing Hedwige, youngest daughter of the deceased monarch.

As, by the renunciation of Louis, the kings of Poland were divested of the right to impose taxes without consent of the nation; Ladislaus assembled the nobles ‡ in their re-

* Dlugoffius, Lib. IX. p. 1102, &c.

† See Lengnich, Pac. Con. Aug. III. Pref. p. 5.

‡ Prelatorum, Baronum et Militarium. Lengnich, Jus Pub. vol. II. p. 35.

spective provinces in order to obtain an additional tribute. These provincial assemblies gave birth to the dietines; which, however, no longer retain the power of raising money in their several districts, but only elect the nuntios or representatives for the general diet.

Ladislaus III. son of Ladislaus Jaghellon, purchased his nomination to the succession, during the life of his father, by a confirmation of all the privileges above enumerated, which he solemnly ratified at his accession.

Under Casimir III. * brother and successor to Ladislaus III. several further innovations were introduced into the original constitution, all unfavourable to regal prerogative. One of the principal changes which took place in this reign, and which laid the foundation of still more important revolutions in the Polish government, was the convention of a national diet invested with the sole power of granting supplies. Each Palatinate or province was permitted to send to this general diet, beside the Palatines and other principal barons, a certain number of nuntios or representatives, chosen by the nobles and burghers †. This

* Sometimes called Casimir IV.

† See Chap. VIII. for proof that the burghers were permitted to send representatives.

reign is therefore considered by the popular party as the æra, at which the freedom of the constitution was permanently established. Casimir was engaged in several unsuccessful wars, which exhausted the royal treasures; and as he could not impose any taxes without the consent of the nation, he was under the necessity of applying repeatedly to the diet for subsidies: almost every supply was accompanied with a list of grievances, and produced a diminution of prerogative. In Poland, as in all feudal governments, the barons, at the head of their vassals, are bound to fight in defence of the kingdom: before the reign of Casimir III. the king could require such military, or, as they were called, feudal services; but this monarch, in compensation for some pecuniary aid, gave up that privilege, and renounced * the power of summoning the nobles to his standard; he likewise agreed not to enact any laws without the concurrence of the national diet.

John Albert, second son of Casimir, being elected in preference to his elder brother Ladislaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, assented

* *Quod nullas constitutiones faceret, neque terrigenas ad bellum moveri mandaret, absque conventionione communi in singulis terris instituendâ.* Const. Pol. v. I. p. 186.

without

without hesitation, as the price of this partiality, to all the immunities extorted from his predecessors; and swore to their observance in a general * diet held at Petrikau, 1469.

Alexander, brother and successor of John Albert, declared, in 1505, the following limitations of sovereign authority to be fundamental laws of the kingdom. 1. The king cannot impose taxes. 2. He cannot require the feudal services; 3. nor alienate the royal domains; 4. nor enact laws; 5. nor coin money; 6. nor alter the process in the courts of justice.

Sigismund I. succeeded Alexander: one † of the Polish historians, speaking of his reign, exclaims with much indignation, "The king is almost wholly destitute of power; he cannot procure any subsidy on the most pressing emergency, for carrying on war, or for the portion of his daughters, without increasing the privileges of the nobility." Notwithstanding, however, this exclamation, we cannot forbear to remark, that the power of levying taxes at discretion is the

* *Preclarorum Baronum ac nuntiorum de singulis terris hic congressorum universorum consilio ac voluntate, &c. Const. Pol. v. I. p. 294.*

† Orichovius.

most dangerous prerogative that can be lodged in the hands of a sovereign, and the most formidable engine of despotic authority: the acquisition of it by the monarchs of France finally subverted the liberties of that kingdom; and it was made the first object of resistance by the assertors of freedom in our own country. If indeed we were inclined to point out any particular period, at which the Polish constitution attained its most perfect state, we should perhaps fix on the reign of Sigismund I. when the person and property of the subject were secured by ample provisions; and the crown still retained considerable influence. But the time was arrived, when an inordinate passion for liberty led the nobles to render the throne wholly elective; and at each election to continue their encroachments upon the regal authority, until the king was reduced to a mere pageant. The first public attempt towards establishing this favourite object of the Poles, a free election of the king, was brought forward in the reign of Sigismund Augustus, son and successor of Sigismund I. who was constrained in 1550 to agree, that no future monarch should succeed to the throne, unless he was freely elected by the nation.

The death of Sigismund Augustus without issue gave efficacy to this concession, which might otherwise have been counteracted by the popularity and influence attendant on a claimant by hereditary succession. For it may not be improper to remark, that, during the Jaghellon line, the sovereigns upon their accession, or election, although formally raised to the throne by the consent of the nation, still rested their pretensions upon hereditary right, as well as upon this consent; always styling themselves *heirs* of the kingdom of Poland. Sigismund Augustus, in whom the male line of the Jaghellon family became extinct, was the last who bore that title *.

IV. The fourth period commences from the demise of Sigismund Augustus, in 1572, when all title to the crown from hereditary right was formally abrogated, and the most absolute freedom of election established upon the most permanent basis. At this era, a charter of immunities was drawn up at a general diet, a ratification of which it was determined to exact from the new sovereign, prior to his election. The ground-work of this

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 59.

charter,

charter, termed in the Polish law *Pacta Conventa*, was the whole body of privileges obtained from Louis and his successors, with the following additions: 1. That the king should be elective, and that his successor should never be appointed during his life; 2. That the diets, the holding of which depended solely upon the will of the kings, should be assembled every two years; 3. That every * noble or gentleman in the whole realm should have a vote in the diet of election; 4. That, in case the king should infringe the laws and privileges of the nation, his subjects should be absolved from their oaths of allegiance. From this period the *Pacta Conventa*, occasionally enlarged, have been confirmed by every sovereign at his coronation.

Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou and brother of Charles IX. king of France, was the first sovereign who ascended the throne after the constitution had been thus new-modelled. He secured his election, as well by private bribes to the nobles, as by a stipulation to pay an annual pension to the Republic from the revenues of France. His example has been necessarily followed by each succeeding sove-

* See the definition of a Noble, Chap. VIII.

reign,

reign, who, beside an unconditional ratification of the *Paċta Conventa*, has been always constrained to purchase the crown by a public largess and by private corruption; circumstances which endear to the Poles an elective monarchy.

Under Stephen Bathori, the regal power was still further abridged by the appointment of sixteen resident senators, chosen at each diet, to attend the king, and to give their opinion in all matters of importance, so that he could not issue any decree without their consent*. Another fatal blow was also given to his prerogative in 1578, by taking from him the supreme jurisdiction, or the power of judging in the last resort the causes of the nobles, excepting such as arise within a small distance † of the sovereign's place of residence: it was enacted, that without the concurrence of the king each palatinate or pro-

* This appointment was made, in 1573, under Henry, but did not absolutely take place till the reign of Stephen. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 344. II. 44.

† The courts exercising justice in the king's name within the district are called *Assefforia Regni*. Until the death of John Sobieski, the kings judged frequently in person, but this ceased to be the custom from the time of Augustus II. and the Great Chancellor now exercises, in his majesty's name, that branch of royal prerogative.

vince should elect in their dietines their own judges, who should form supreme courts of justice, called *Tribunalia Regni**; and that in these courts the causes of the nobles should be decided finally and without appeal; a mode of judicature which prevails to this day.

The turbulent reign of John Casimir was marked by the introduction of the *Liberum Veto*†, or the power which each nuntio claims and exercises of interposing a negative, and in consequence of that interposition of breaking up the diet; a privilege which the sovereign himself does not possess, and which has contributed, more than any other innovation, to destroy the true balance of the Polish constitution.

But the king was still the fountain of honour: he conferred the principal dignities and great offices of the republic; and bestowed the Starosties, or Royal fiefs, which are held during the life-time of the possessor. Hence he still maintained great influence in the councils of the nation: but this last solitary branch of royal prerogative was wrested

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 536.

† For an account of the *Liberum Veto*, see Chap. VI.

from

from his present Majesty at the establishment of the Permanent Council *.

Thus it appears, that, from the time of Louis to the present period, the nobles have continued without interruption to diminish the regal authority, and to augment their own privileges. Many of the concessions which they obtained from the sovereigns of the Jaghellon line, were just and reasonable, and aimed only at an equitable degree of freedom. When, however, an absolute right to dispose of so tempting an object as the crown gave them repeated opportunities of prescribing unconditional terms to every candidate for the throne, they were no longer content with that equal distribution of power, which is the excellence of a limited monarchy; but aspired to, and nearly attained, a direct aristocracy under a regal title and form.

From this general review of the revolutions in the constitution of Poland, we may easily infer, that, notwithstanding their so much boasted liberty, the Poles are by no means equally free. Indeed their historians, however they may

* A delineation of the Permanent Council, in the words of the edict which established it, is given in Chapter V.

differ in other points, unanimously agree in reprobating their affectation of liberty, the shadow rather than the reality of freedom; which is in fact merely a turbulent system of Aristocratic licentiousness, where a few members of the community are above the controul of law, while the majority are excluded from its protection. We should suppose, that, if in any instance they were free, it would be in the election of a king, one of their most vaunted privileges; and yet Sarniski addresses the Poles with great truth in the following words: "Turn over your annals, and you will scarcely find a single example of a free election*." Another Polish historian of great note, the celebrated Stanislaus Lubieniski bishop of Plotzko, justly contends that the Poles, free as they pretend to be, are absolutely in a state of slavery, to which they have been reduced by an inconsiderate passion for liberty†. In a word, it is evident beyond the possibility of doubt, from

* *Revolvite annales vestros, vix ullum exemplum liberæ electionis invenietis.*

† *Expendamus paululum statum reipublicæ: inconsultus libertatis amor dum iidem leges ferunt, qui pœnis obnoxii sunt, et impunitatis desiderio, juris, quo tot sæculis patria stetit, convellunt fundamenta, nos eo redegit ut liberi pessimo*
 VOL. I. C *cuique*

from the history of this country, that the Poles were more free at home, and more independent and flourishing abroad, when the sovereign had more authority, when the nobles assisted at the diets without the privilege of dissolving them; and when they submitted themselves and their peasants to the jurisdiction of the king. The proof of this assertion is founded on the following facts.

1. The present wretched state of the towns compared with their former flourishing condition, during the reigns of the Jaghellon family, when the burghers even possessed a right of sending nuntios to the diets *, attests the melancholy effects of aristocratical despotism. 2. The miserable condition and poverty of the peasants, the increase of whose oppression has kept equal pace with the increase of the power of the nobles; for when the king lost his weight in the constitution, this most numerous and useful order of society lost a patron and protector. 3. A total confusion introduced into the administration of

cuique serviamus. Nulla legum reverentia, nulla potestatis verecundia: tantum quisque audet, quantum habet virium. Dudum jam agricolas miseros aspero servitutis iugo pressimus, &c. p. 194.

* See Chap. VIII.

public affairs; and a state of anarchy, which prevents deliberation, and delays the adoption of necessary measures even in times of the most pressing emergency. 4. The declension of the importance, and contraction of the territories of the republic. During the reigns of the kings of the Jaghellon family, before the nobles had acquired a decided preponderancy in the state, the kingdom of Poland was far more powerful and extensive than it is at present: since the changes in the constitution, and the introduction of anarchy, falsely called liberty, the Poles have not only made no conquest which they have not been forced to relinquish; but have seen even their original territories gradually mouldering away, and at last considerably reduced by the late partition. A kingdom with more than twelve millions of inhabitants, if well regulated, would never have fallen so easy a prey to the ambition of its neighbours: its internal strength, assisted by its natural alliances, would have been sufficient to have protracted, if not prevented, its dismemberment. Nor are the fatal effects of the evils inherent in the constitution yet fully exhausted: the same incapacity of resisting the encroachments of neighbouring powers, which made the

Poles so tamely accede to the late division, will render them equally submissive, whenever any future claims shall be urged by a combination of the neighbouring states; and compel them to acquiesce under any pretensions, however chimerical, or however unjust.

Anarchy, in short, and confusion are not only tolerated, but are even supposed by the nobles, who reap the benefit of those evils, to be absolutely necessary for the support of the constitution; so that there is a proverb, which implies that Poland subsists by anarchy. In opposition to this absurd idea, an historian, whom I have before cited, advises his countrymen no longer to suffer the republic to be governed by chance, or to submit to the cast of the die the administration of affairs, on which their very existence as a nation depends*.

King Stanislaus Letzinski and the Abbé Konarski are the most celebrated of the modern Polish authors, who have exposed in the

* Non condemnetis (says Sarniski, in the striking passage to which I allude, and of which it was impossible to preserve the spirit in a translation) quæso prudentissimorum virorum consilia; nec finatis amplius casu rempublicam regi, nec permittatis *dubiæ aleæ* res, in quibus vita et mors, salus et interitus, ad limen sedent.

strongest colours the disorders of the government, and the exorbitancy of the privileges possessed by the nobles: but what avail the representations of historians against factions, against a tumultuous nobility, or against the cabals of neighbouring powers? It is hardly possible to suppose that Poland, without an army, without money, without fortresses, without resources, and without good government the source of all the other calamities, will ever emerge from her present situation. Her misfortunes will not only continue, but will gradually increase, notwithstanding the remonstrances of a few real patriots; until by slow progress, or some violent revolution, Poland either subsides into an hereditary monarchy, or a well-ordered republic; or, which is more probable, is totally swallowed up by the neighbouring powers.

C H A P. II.

Election of Stanislaus Augustus.—His excellent regulations opposed by the neighbouring powers.—History of the Dissidents—their privileges abolished by the diet of 1766.—Confederacies in their favour supported by the Empress of Russia.—Restored to their rights by the diet of 1768.—Proceedings of that diet.—Rise of the civil commotions.

UPON the demise of Augustus II. Stanislaus Augustus, son of Count Poniatowski the friend and companion of Charles XII. was supported in his pretensions to the crown by the Empress of Russia, and the king of Prussia: their assistance, joined to that of a strong party among the nobles who had declared in his favour, and aided by his great personal accomplishments, raised him to the throne of Poland. Five thousand Russian troops stationed at a small distance from the plain of Vola, wherein the diet of election was assembled, secured good order, and over-awed the violence of the opposite party. The practice
of

B. I.
C. 2. SKETCH OF THE PRESENT REIGN. 23

of cantoning a body of soldiers near the plain where the Polish kings are elected, has been adopted by different foreign powers for near a century: a mode of proceeding, which, however galling it may appear to the licentious nobility, prevents the effusion of blood that formerly deluged these popular assemblies.

Stanislaus was in the 32d year of his age when he ascended the throne in 1764, and seemed calculated by his virtues and abilities to raise Poland from its deplorable state; if the defects of the constitution had not fettered his exertions for the public good. The fairest hopes were conceived of his future reign; but these flattering presages, at first realized, were soon disappointed by the factions of a turbulent people, fomented by the intrigues of the neighbouring powers: thus the reign of the most amiable among the Polish sovereigns was doomed to experience the dreadful effects of that excessive liberty, which is inconsistent with the existence of government. The first acts of his Majesty's reign were highly adapted to introduce order and regularity into the interior administration, and to rescue his country from her dependence upon foreign powers. The tendency of these excellent regulations to increase the power and

consequence of Poland gave umbrage to the adjacent states; and were likewise vigorously opposed by a strong party within the kingdom: at this crisis too, religious disputes blending themselves with political cabals, the flame of civil discord burst forth with a violence which had not hitherto raged even in Poland.

The body of Polish religionists, termed Dissidents, make a principal figure in the subsequent commotions; their concerns being the real or pretended object of attention in every material transaction. The history of this party is thus sketched by the Polish historians.

The reformation made its way into Poland under Sigismund I. who persecuted its followers: their number however gaining ground, his son Sigismund Augustus * not only indulged them in the most liberal exercise of their worship; but admitted them together with the Greeks, and all other sects then subsisting in Poland, to a seat in the diet, and to all

* Sigismund Augustus gave such evident marks of favour to the protestant confession, that he was even suspected of being inclined to change his religion, "ut etiam de ipso rumor esset ac si avita sacra renuntiare vellet." Lengnich, Jus Publ. II. p. 554.

C. 2. SKETCH OF THE PRESENT REIGN. 25

the honours and privileges before exclusively confined to the catholics. These maxims of unlimited toleration were so generally adopted by the nation at large, that the members of the diet, which assembled upon the decease of Sigismond Augustus, being of different persuasions, determined on a reciprocal indulgence of their respective tenets. In order to avoid any hateful distinctions, they called themselves indiscriminately "dissidents in religion *," a phrase intimating, not, according

* This remarkable decree is as follows: "Et quoniam, aiunt ordines, in nostrâ Republ. non parum est dissidium in causâ Religionis Christianæ, occurrendo ne ex hac causâ inter homines damnosa quædam seditio oriatur, uti in aliis Regnis clare videmus, spondemus hoc nobis invicem, pro nobis & successoribus nostris in perpetuum, sub vinculo juramenti, fide, honore & conscientiis nostris, quod, *qui sumus dissidentes de religione*, pacem inter nos conservare, & propter diversam fidem, & mutationes in ecclesiis, sanguinem non effundere, neque multare pecuniâ, infamiâ, carceribus & exilio, & superioritati alicui aut officio ad ejusmodi processum nullo modo auxilium dare: quin imo, si quis sanguinem effundere voluerit, ex istâ causâ opponere nos omnes erimus obstricti, licet etiam id alioquin sub prætextu decreti, aut alicujus processus judiciarii facere voluerit a Pacta Conventa Augusti III." p. 20.

We

according to our notions, separatists from an established church, but simply persons holding a diversity of opinions in religious matters. It was at the same time enacted, that this difference of religious sentiments should create no difference in civil rights; and accordingly in the *Pacta Conventa* formed by the diet, the following clause was inserted as part of the coronation oath to be tendered to the new sovereign. "I will keep peace among the dissidents *." Henry, who objected to this universal toleration, tried to withhold his consent; upon which one of the Polish en-

We need not be surprized at this general sense of the diet, so contrary to the general principles of the catholics, when we consider that the catholic nuntios were inferior in number to those of the other persuasions, so that the former were well satisfied to obtain an equality with the others. The protestant party in the nation was at this period so strong, that it was even taken into consideration to elect for their king a Polish nobleman, who had embraced the reformed religion. "Cum in senatu si non majorem, parem tamen catholicis partem efficerent, inter equites autem prævalerent." Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 555. See also Lind's Letters on the State of Poland, p. 82.

* "Pacem inter dissidentes servabo." "Nisi eam conditionem, approbaveris, Rex Poloniae non eris. Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 19.

voys

C. 2. SKETCH OF THE PRESENT REIGN. 27

voys cried out, " Unless your Majesty con-
firms this article, you cannot be king of
Poland ;" and he accordingly took an oath
to observe this clause, before he was permitted
to ascend the throne.

In process of time, however, the Roman
catholics, having, under the protection and
influence of successive sovereigns, acquired a
considerable ascendancy, ventured to appro-
priate the expression of dissidents to all those
who dissented from the catholic religion.
This restriction of the original meaning of
the title was attended at first with no in-
croachments on the privileges of the other
sects ; and the term dissidents, though now
conveying the idea of a separation from the
established worship, was not yet regarded in
an obnoxious light. The dissidents indeed
still continued in such unquestioned possession
of all rights civil and religious, that, when
it was agreed by both catholics and protes-
tants to persecute the arians, it was thought
previously necessary to expel them from the
body of dissidents. In consequence of this
exclusion, the arians, in the reign of John
Casimir, were first rendered incapable of be-
ing elected nuntios, afterwards deprived of
their

their places of worship, and finally banished from Poland *.

This persecution of the arians, inadvertently assented to by the protestants and Greeks, was only a prelude to that which they in their turn suffered from the catholics: for, as the catholic party became the most powerful, the term dissidents, now confined only to persons professing the protestant † and Greek religions, began to grow of a less inoffensive import, and to convey an idea of non-con-

* The following quotations from Lengnich prove the truth of these facts:

“ Credebant ariani se ad dissidentes pertinere, verum neque dissidentes illos in eorum numero esse voluerunt.

“ Post mortem Uladislai IV. catholici declarabant, non esse dissidentes nisi qui trium Deum colerent.

“ In comitiis 1658, rex nuntium, quia sectæ arianorum erat, ad manûs osculum admittere nolebat; et nuntii inter se constituebant, ne ipsorum conclavi arianis locus esset.” Jus Pub. II. 567 & seq.

For the extirpation of the arian sect, John Casimir was dignified by the pope with the title of orthodox, as if orthodoxy consisted in persecution.

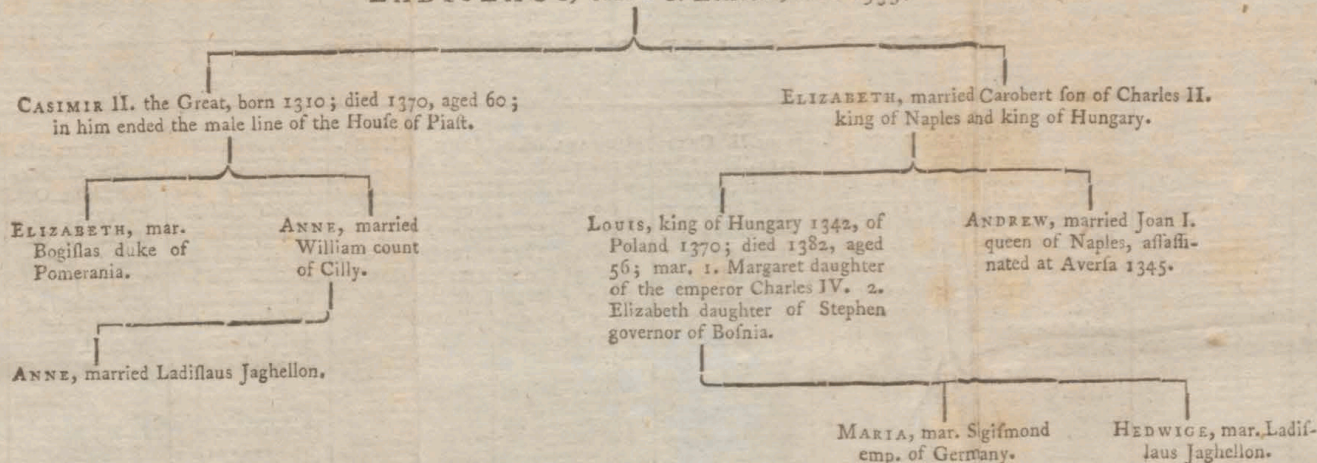
Tantæ animis cælestibus iræ!

† Namely, the Lutherans and Calvinists; all other protestant sects, the Memnonites, anabaptists, and quakers, being not included among the dissidents: and the persecuting laws enacted against the arians are in full force against them. Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 28, 29.

formity.

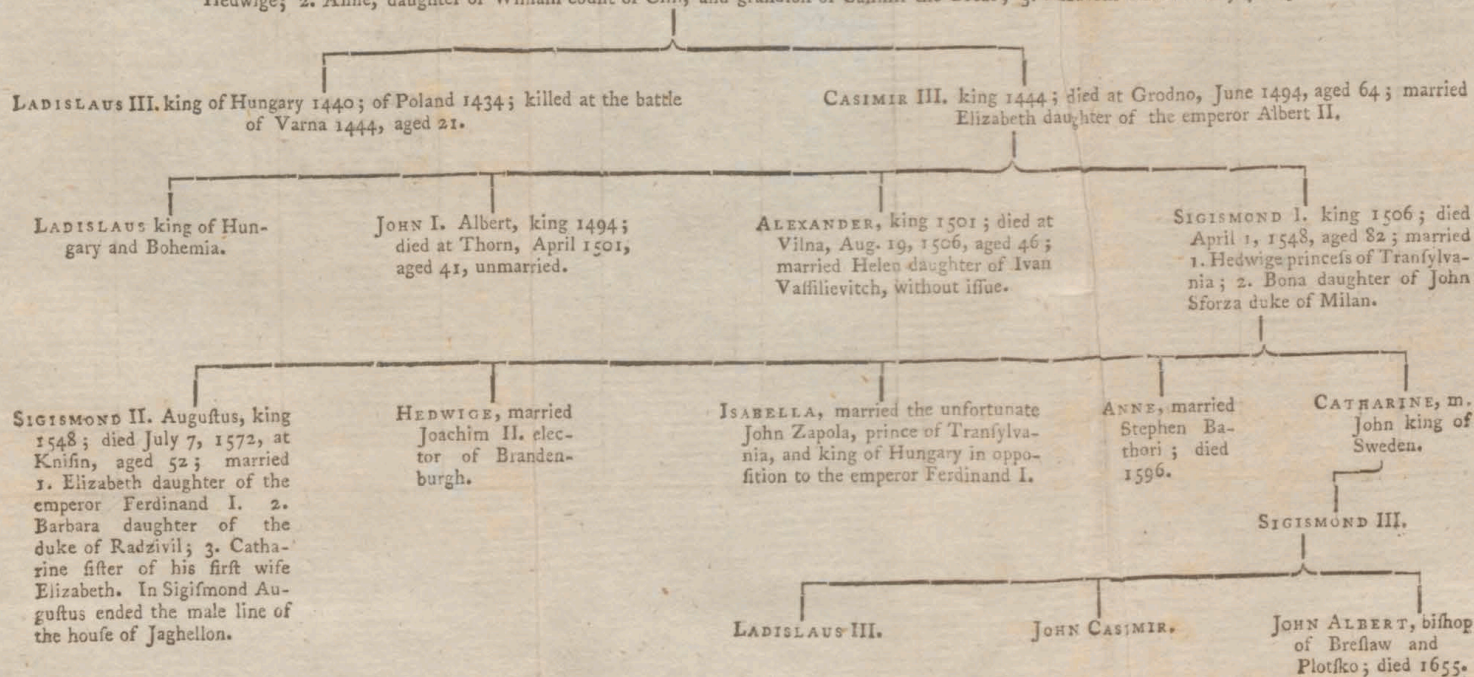
GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

LADISLAUS, called I. Loketec, died 1533.



KINGS of POLAND of the House of JAGHELLON.

LADISLAUS II. Jaghellon, duke of Lithuania, king of Poland 1386, upon his marriage with Hedwige; died at Grodetz, May 31, 1434, aged near 80; mar. 1. Hedwige; 2. Anne, daughter of William count of Cilli, and grandson of Casimir the Great; 3. Elizabeth Granowicka; 4. Sophia.



KINGS of POLAND of different Families.

HENRY of Valois duke of Angou, afterwards king of France, king of Poland, May 1573, abdicated June 1574.	STEPHEN BATHORI, king of Poland, Dec. 14, 1575, upon his marriage with Anne Jaghellon; died at Grodno Dec. 12, 1586, aged 54.	SIGISMOND III. king August 1587; died at Warsaw April 30, 1632, aged 66. See the former table. Mar. 1. Anne daughter of Charles archduke of Austria; 2. Constantia, sister of Anne.	LADISLAUS IV. son of Sigismund III. king Nov. 1632; died at Meretz, May 20, 1643, aged 52; married 1. Cecilia daughter of the emperor Ferdinand II. 2. Louisa Maria princess of Nevers.	JOHN II. CASIMIR, king Nov. 20, 1643; abdicated September 16, 1668; died at Nevers in France, Dec. 16, 1672, aged 64; married Louisa his brother's widow.	MICHAEL KORYBUT WISNOVSKI, king June 19, 1668; died at Leopold, Nov. 10, 1673, aged 35; married Eleonora daughter of the emperor Ferdinand III.	JOHN III. SOBIESKI, king May 21, 1674; died at Villanow, June 17, 1696, aged 66; married Marie de la Grange d'Arquien.	AUGUSTUS II. elector of Saxony, king June 1697; died at Warsaw, Jan. 1733, aged 63; married Christina daughter of Christian margrave of Brandenburg Ba-reith.	AUGUSTUS III. elector of Saxony, king Oct. 5, 1733; died at Dresden, Oct. 1763; married Maria Josephi-na daughter of the emperor Joseph I.	STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS, king September 1764.
							STANISLAUS LETZINSKI, chosen in opposition to Augustus II. July 12, 1704; driven from Poland; again elected by a party upon the death of Augustus II. again obliged to retire; retained the title of king; died at Luneville, Feb. 23, 1766. His daughter Marie married Louis XV.		

formity. The sectaries distinguished by that appellation, perceiving the intention of the catholics to undermine their privileges, stipulated and obtained, that they should not be blended with the arians, or fall under the penal laws enacted against that sect. But these promises were insensibly eluded, their privileges were gradually diminished; in the course of a few years they were subjected to a variety of disqualifications, and at length, in 1733, formally incapacitated from sitting in the diet*. An old law of Ladislaus II. against heretics, as well as the penalties levelled against the arians, were revived, and occasionally put in force against the dissidents.

These continual persecutions greatly diminished their number, and consequently rendered their remonstrances ineffectual. The catholics, who now took the lead in the diet, even declared it high treason in the dissidents to seek the restoration of their immunities by the intercession of foreign powers; although many of these foreign powers were guarantees to the treaty of Oliva, in which it was stipu-

* Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 376.

lated,

lated, that the rights of the dissidents should be maintained in their full latitude *.

Such was the situation of the dissidents at the accession of his present majesty; who, though himself strongly inclined to toleration, was yet obliged to concur with the general sense of the diet; and to confirm in their full extent all the laws which had been promulgated against them. The dissidents applied to the courts of London, Petersburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, as the mediating powers in the treaty of Oliva; who warmly supported their cause, and presented memorials to the ensuing diet, demanding a restoration not only of their religious establishments, but also of all their ancient privileges secured to them by the abovementioned treaty. The diet of 1766, however, was not of a temper to accede to these proposals.

The enemies of toleration contended, that the privileges alluded to were become obsolete, having been repeatedly abolished in various diets; and that the dissidents had no well-founded claim either to the restitution

* For the account of the dissidents, see Lengnich, Pac. Con. Aug. III. 16—30. and Jus Publ. sparsim.

of their civil immunities, or to the toleration of their worship: the bishop of Cracow, the most bigotted of the catholics, even proposed a law against all who should abet the opposite party. Violent altercations arose in the assembly, when the Prussian and Russian memorials were read; and as an immediate tumult was apprehended, the king retired from the diet without proroguing it, as usual, to the following day. The primate likewise refused to continue the sitting, and the members separated in great disorder. On the subsequent day, the spirit of intolerance was in no degree abated; the moderate party was over-ruled, and the acts against the dissidents were confirmed without reserve. But, in order to conciliate the mediating powers, the bench of bishops, by command of the diet, drew up nine articles in favour of the dissidents, relative to the free exercise of their worship. These concessions not being thought sufficiently favourable, while the exceptionable laws remained unrepealed, the Empress of Russia remonstrated against the proceedings of the diet; and the dissidents began to form confederacies in different parts of the kingdom. They were joined by many discontented catholics, and assisted by a large body

body of Russian troops, who entered Thorn, where the first and principal confederacy took its rise. All the mediating powers, Great-Britain, Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden, testified their approbation of these confederacies. The disputes soon began to embrace other objects beside religion; political grievances were likewise brought forward; and several confederacies started up in different parts of the kingdom among the catholic nobles; all of whom affected to be advocates for toleration, and declared their intentions of supporting the cause of the dissidents. Prince Radzivil, who had signalized himself in opposing the king's election, was appointed marshal to all the catholic confederacies, united in one formidable association under the appellation of malecontents. The coalition of this catholic confederacy, with that of the dissidents, soon after took place in the palace of prince Radzivil at Warsaw: Mean while the king convoked an extraordinary diet, as the only probable means to prevent a civil war, and to appease the Empress of Russia, whose troops were advanced within a small distance of Warsaw. The diet, however, which was summoned for the purpose of reconciling the opposite parties, failed in producing the intended

tended effect: the bishop of Cracow and his partisans inveighed with such bitterness against the pretensions of the dissidents, and against the interference of foreign powers; that he, together with the bishop of Kiof and a few others, the most violent of their party, were arrested in the night by a corps of Russian troops, and sent, without trial, to Russia, where they experienced a rigorous imprisonment*.

The

* The bishop of Cracow and his associates were arrested on the 15th of October, 1767; they were detained in prison above five years, not being released before the beginning of 1773. They were first confined at Smolensko, and afterwards at Kaluga. The following extracts from certain manuscript letters in my possession give some account of their imprisonment, and of the bishop's return:

"At first their confinement was very rigorous, and particularly in their journey to Smolensko; for although they were conducted at the same time, and imprisoned at the same place, yet they were never permitted to see each other during the first six months. Afterwards they were less rigorously treated. They were removed from Smolensko, on suspicion of a correspondence between the bishop of Cracow and his partisans in Lithuania; and, although this suspicion was not founded, yet it occasioned the resolution adopted by the court of Petersburg to transport them to Kaluga."

"Warsaw, 15 February, 1773. The bishop of Cracow is already arrived: he had dispatched an express from Minsk

The diet, intimidated by the fate of their leading members, and being no longer inflamed

“ to the Great Chancellor of the Crown to announce his
 “ return on the 14th. The express came on Thursday
 “ afternoon, and was followed by another the next day
 “ with the news, that the bishop himself was on his route;
 “ and he arrived at five in the afternoon. In the suburbs
 “ of Praga, being met by the Pope’s nuntio, together
 “ with the bishops of Cujavia and Posnania, he quitted his
 “ own carriage and got into that of the bishop of Posna-
 “ nia, into whose palace he alighted at Warsaw. He was
 “ accompanied by persons of the first distinction, and fol-
 “ lowed by a rowd of people, huzzaing as he passed the
 “ streets; some out of affection, others from imitation, or
 “ excited by secret emissaries. The doors of the palace
 “ being open to all who chose to enter; the apartments
 “ were immediately filled with persons of all ranks, bishops,
 “ senators, ministers and officers of state, nobles, priests,
 “ citizens, together with the lowest of the populace, and
 “ even beggars, all huddled together pell-mell, eager to
 “ behold, listen to, and applaud the bishop, who had so
 “ unexpectedly made his appearance. He spoke for a
 “ considerable time, and related the history of his imprison-
 “ ment, which he assured them had not made any alteration
 “ in his sentiments of religion and liberty. ‘ I have been
 “ twice,’ added he, ‘ arrested by the Russians, the first time
 “ with the primate Potofki, the second at my late confine-
 “ ment, and perhaps I may yet be cast into prison a third
 “ time.’

“ He proposes to retire in a short time to his diocese,
 “ and it is reported that he intends to forbid the priests
 “ from wearing wigs and ruffles: he himself wears neither.
 “ His hair is grown grey since his confinement, and he

“ looks

C. 2. SKETCH OF THE PRESENT REIGN. 35

flamed by their eloquence, appointed, though not without some altercation and tumult, a grand committee to adjust the affairs of the dissidents in conjunction with the mediating powers, and then broke up. This grand committee expressed the most favourable disposition towards the dissidents, and proposed

" looks considerably older; he covers his head with a red cap which he made himself.

" Yesterday he had an audience of the king, with whom he remained a full hour, namely, from eleven to twelve. He addressed his majesty with great decency and respect; and, among other things, begged pardon, if, before his arrest, he had expressed himself either in a manner or in terms which were displeasing, assuring him at the same time of his attachment, fidelity, and zeal for the service of his king, and the good of his country. After the audience, he attended mass, and presented his majesty with the New Testament, acquitting himself of that ceremony with propriety and decorum.

" The bishop of Kiof, having separated from the bishop of Cracow on the other side of Minsk, will not be here for some time. The palatine of Cracow and his son continue between Smolensko and Kaluga, the place of their confinement, in order to attend upon Colonel Bachmatou, their conductor, who was taken ill upon their journey. The palatine, willing to repay with gratitude and humanity the attention which he received from the colonel during his confinement, could not be prevailed upon to quit him in his illness; and as he has some knowledge of physic, he is in hopes of completing his cure."

that all the laws enacted against them should be repealed, and their antient privileges restored. These resolutions being laid before the extraordinary diet, which was convened the beginning of the following year, 1768, were ratified almost without opposition. This ready and unanimous acquiescence of the diet in regulations, totally repugnant to the sentiments of the majority, can only be accounted for by the dread of the Russian troops quartered in Warsaw, and the influence of bribes judiciously distributed by the Russian minister. The operation of the same causes rendered the diet equally compliant in other particulars: and induced them to establish several * civil regulations, tending to perpetuate the defects of the constitution, and which had no other recommendation except their subserviency to the Russian designs upon Poland.

The nation at large seemed at this juncture

* These regulations, which respect chiefly the establishing in perpetuity of the elective monarchy, of the *Liberum Veto*, and of unanimity in all matters of state, are all detailed in the articles of the diet of 1768, published at Warsaw: the principal clauses are the same as are mentioned in the fourth chapter of this book relative to the changes made in the constitution in 1775; the reader will find them amply mentioned, and accompanied with some judicious remarks, in Lind's *Present State of Poland*, Letter III.

C. 2. SKETCH OF THE PRESENT REIGN. 37

to have caught the submissive spirit of the diet; and received the new edicts with every symptom of cordiality. Poland seemed to enjoy for a moment an universal tranquillity; but it was that fullen tranquillity which precedes a tempest, and announces to the intelligent observer the most violent commotions.

During these transactions, the king, without influence, and consequently without a shadow of authority, was one moment hurried down the popular current; and the next forced by the mediating powers to accede to all the conditions which they laid before him: a wretched situation for a prince of his spirit and magnanimity, and below which it is scarcely possible for any sovereign to be reduced. But more grievous scenes yet awaited the unfortunate monarch: he was doomed to behold his country torn to pieces by the most dreadful of all calamities, a religious war; to be frequently deprived almost of common necessities; to be indebted for his very subsistence to the voluntary contributions of his friends; to be little better than a state prisoner in his capital; to be carried off and nearly assassinated; to see his fairest provinces wrested from him; and, finally, to depend, for his own security and that of his subjects,

upon the protection of those very powers, who had dismembered his empire.

The Polish malecontents could certainly alledge some very plausible causes of dissatisfaction. The laws passed at the last diet bore a greater resemblance to the absolute mandates of a Russian viceroy, than to the resolutions of a free assembly. The outrage committed upon the bishop of Cracow and his adherents entirely subverted all liberty of debate; while the authoritative manner, in which the mediating powers of Berlin and Petersburg still continued to interfere in the affairs of Poland, threatened a more grievous subjection. These specious grounds of disgust, joined to an ill-timed spirit of discontent which had gone forth throughout the nation against the king, occasioned the intestine commotions that soon reduced Poland to the most dreadful state of desolation.

The diet had not long been dissolved, before the indulgences granted to the dissidents excited a general discontent among the Roman catholic party. Several confederacies made their appearance towards the frontiers of the Turkish empire in defence of the sacred catholic faith: they carried standards before them, highly calculated to inflame the zeal of the

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C. 2. SKETCH OF THE PRESENT REIGN. 39

the populace ; upon some of these, images of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus were delineated ; upon others the Spread Eagle of Poland, with the mottos " Conquest or Death," " For religion and liberty *." Some banners bore as a device a red cross, under which was inscribed " The symbol of victory." The private soldiers of the confederacy, like the crusaders of old, wore a cross interwoven in their clothes. One party of these insurgents seized upon the fortress of Bar in Podolia, and another got possession of Cracow. The royal troops, who marched against them, were either routed or prevailed upon to join them. In this dreadful crisis of affairs, the senate petitioned the ambassador from the court of Petersburg not to withdraw the Russian troops from the kingdom, as they afforded the only security against the confederates : the request was readily complied with, and Poland became a scene of bloodshed and devastation. In the various conflicts between the two parties, the superiority of Russian discipline generally prevailed. The confederates, however, at first secretly encouraged by the house of Austria, assisted by the Turks, and supplied

* Aut vincere aut mori.—Pro religione et libertate,

with money and officers by the French, were able to protract hostilities from the dissolution of the diet in 1768, to the division of Poland in 1772. To enter into a detail of military operations, falls not within the design of this work. From the various acts of cruelty and revenge which distinguish and disgrace this part of the Polish history, I shall select only one event too remarkable to be omitted; the attempt made by the confederates to assassinate the king.

The following circumstantial account of this singular occurrence, was communicated to me by my ingenious friend Nathaniel Wraxall, Esq; whose name is well known in the literary world; and who, during his residence at Warsaw, obtained the most authentic information upon so interesting a transaction: as he has obligingly permitted me to enrich my work with this narration, I am happy to lay it before the reader in his own words.

C H A P. III.

*Attempt to assassinate the king of Poland.—
His majesty attacked by the conspirators in
the streets of Warsaw, wounded, and carried
off.—His adventures and miraculous escape.
—Return to Warsaw.—Account and fate
of the principal conspirators.*

“ I N the midst of these turbulent and
“ disastrous scenes, the confederates (who
“ ever considered the king as unlawfully
“ elected, and who imputed to his fatal ele-
“ vation and direction, or approbation, all
“ the various ills under which the kingdom
“ groaned from the Russian oppression) planned
“ and executed one of the most daring enter-
“ prizes of which modern history makes men-
“ tion. I mean the attempt to assassinate the
“ king. It is somewhat remarkable, that in
“ an age so humanised, so free from the enor-
“ mous and flagitious crimes common in
“ barbarous centuries, so enlightened as is
“ the present, this is the third attempt on a
“ crowned head in my remembrance. Louis
“ XV.

" XV. Joseph I. of Portugal, and Stanislaus
 " Augustus, all narrowly escaped assassination.
 " As the attempt on his Polish majesty was
 " perhaps the most atrocious, and his escape
 " certainly the most extraordinary and incre-
 " dible of the three, I shall be as minute as
 " possible in the enumeration of all the prin-
 " cipal circumstances which led to, and which
 " attended this remarkable event.

" A Polish nobleman, named Pulaski, a
 " general in the army of the confederates,
 " was the person who planned the atrocious
 " enterprize; and the conspirators who car-
 " ried it into execution were about forty in
 " number, and were headed by three chiefs,
 " named Lukawski, Strawenski, and Kosinski.
 " These three chiefs had been engaged and
 " hired to that purpose by Pulaski, who in
 " the town of Czetschokow in Great Poland
 " obliged them to swear in the most solemn
 " manner, by placing their hands between
 " his, either to deliver the king alive into his
 " hands, or, in case that was impossible, to
 " put him to death. The three chiefs chose
 " thirty-seven persons to accompany them.
 " On the 2d of November, about a month
 " after they had quitted Czetschokow, they
 " obtained

" obtained admission into Warsaw unsuspected
 " or undiscovered, by the following stratagem.
 " They disguised themselves as peasants who
 " came to sell hay, and artfully concealed
 " their saddles, arms, and cloaths under the
 " loads of hay which they brought in wag-
 " gons, the more effectually to escape detec-
 " tion.

" On Sunday night, the 3d of September,
 " 1771, a few of these conspirators remained
 " in the skirts of the town; and the others
 " repaired to the place of rendezvous, the
 " street of the capuchins, where his majesty
 " was expected to pass by about his usual
 " hour of returning to the palace. The king
 " had been to visit his uncle prince Czartoriski,
 " grand chancellor of Lithuania, and was on
 " his return from thence to the palace between
 " nine and ten o'clock. He was in a coach,
 " accompanied by at least fifteen or sixteen
 " attendants, beside an aid-de-camp in the
 " carriage: scarce was he at the distance of
 " two hundred paces from prince Czartoriski's
 " palace, when he was attacked by the con-
 " spirators, who commanded the coachman
 " to stop on pain of instant death. They
 " fired several shot into the carriage, one of
 " which passed through the body of a heyduc,
 " who

“ who endeavoured to defend his master from
 “ the violence of the assassins. Almost all
 “ the other persons * who preceded and ac-
 “ companied his majesty were dispersed; the
 “ aid-de-camp abandoned him, and attempted
 “ to conceal himself by flight. Mean while
 “ the king had opened the door of his car-
 “ riage with the design of effecting his escape
 “ under shelter of the night, which was ex-
 “ tremely dark. He had even alighted, when
 “ the assassins seized him by the hair, ex-
 “ claiming with horrible execrations, ‘ We
 “ have thee now; thy hour is come.’ One
 “ of them discharged a pistol at him so very
 “ near, that he felt the heat of the flash;
 “ while another cut him across the head with
 “ his sabre, which penetrated to the bone.
 “ They then laid hold of his majesty by the
 “ collar, and, mounting on horseback, drag-
 “ ged him along the ground between their

* “ It is incredible that such a number of persons as
 “ were with his Polish majesty on that memorable night,
 “ should all so basely abandon him, except the single hey-
 “ duc who was killed, and who so bravely defended his
 “ master. This man was a protestant; he was not killed
 “ on the spot, but expired next morning of his wounds.
 “ The king allows a pension to his widow and children.”

“ horses

"horses at full gallop for near five hundred
 "paces through the streets of Warsaw *.

"All was confusion and disorder during
 "this time at the palace, where the at-
 "tendants who had deserted their master had
 "spread the alarm. The foot-guards ran
 "immediately to the spot from whence the
 "king had been conveyed, but they found
 "only his hat all bloody, and his bag: this
 "increased their apprehensions for his life.
 "The whole city was in an uproar. The
 "assassins profited of the universal confusion,
 "terror and consternation, to bear away their
 "prize. Finding, however, that he was in-

* "It is astonishing, that, in the number of balls which
 "passed through the carriage, not one should hurt or
 "wound the king. Several went through his *pelisse*, or
 "fur great-coat. I have seen this cloak, and the holes
 "made in it by the pistol bullets. Every part of the
 "cloaths which his majesty wore on that night are care-
 "fully preserved. It is no less wonderful, that when the
 "assassins had seized on the king, they should carry him
 "through such a number of streets without being stopped.
 "A Russian centinel did hail them; but, as they answered
 "in Russian, he allowed them to pass, imagining them to
 "be a patrol of his nation. This happened at some
 "distance from the place where they had carried off the
 "king. The night was besides exceedingly dark, and
 "Warsaw has no lamps. All these circumstances contri-
 "bute to account for this extraordinary event."

"capable

"capable of following them on foot, and
 "that he had already almost lost his respira-
 "tion from the violence with which they
 "had dragged him, they set him on horse-
 "back; and then redoubled their speed for
 "fear of being overtaken. When they came
 "to the ditch which surrounds Warsaw,
 "they obliged him to leap his horse over.
 "In the attempt the horse fell twice, and at
 "the second fall broke its leg. They then
 "mounted his majesty upon another, all
 "covered as he was with dirt.

"The conspirators had no sooner crossed
 "the ditch, than they began to rifle the king,
 "tearing off the order* of the Black Eagle
 "of Prussia which he wore round his neck,
 "and the diamond cross hanging to it. He
 "requested them to leave his handkerchief,
 "which they consented to: his tablets escaped
 "their rapacity. A great number of the

* "It was Lukawski, one of the three chiefs of the
 "band, who tore off the ribbon of the Black Eagle, which
 "his Prussian majesty had conferred on the king when he
 "was Count Poniatowski. One of his motives for doing
 "this, was by shewing the order of the Black Eagle to
 "Pulaski and the confederates, to prove to them incon-
 "testibly that the king was in their hands, and on his way.
 "Lukawski was afterwards executed."

"assassins

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* "This in
 "may at fir

" assassins retired after having thus plundered
 " him, probably with intent to notify to their
 " respective leaders the success of their enter-
 " prize ; and the king's arrival as a prisoner.
 " Only seven remained with him, of whom
 " Kofinski was the chief. The night was
 " exceedingly dark ; they were absolutely ig-
 " norant of the way ; and, as the horses could
 " not keep their legs, they obliged his ma-
 " jesty to follow them on foot, with only one
 " shoe, the other being lost in the dirt.

" They continued to wander through the
 " open meadows, without following any cer-
 " tain path, and without getting to any
 " distance from Warsaw. They again mount-
 " ed the king on horseback, two of them
 " holding him on each side by the hand,
 " and a third leading his horse by the bridle.
 " In this manner they were proceeding, when
 " his majesty, finding they had taken the
 " road which led to a village called Burakow,
 " warned them not to enter it, because there
 " were some Russians stationed in that place
 " who might probably attempt to rescue
 " him *. Finding himself, however, inca-
 " pable

* " This intimation, which the king gave to his assassins,
 " may at first sight appear extraordinary and unaccount-
 " able,

“pable of accompanying the assassins in the
 “painful posture in which they held him
 “kept down on the saddle, he requested
 “them, since they were determined to oblige
 “him to proceed, at least to give him another
 “horse and a boot *. This request they
 “complied with; and continuing their pro-
 “gress through almost impassable lands, with-

“able, but was really dictated by the greatest address and
 “judgment. He apprehended with reason that, on the
 “sight of a Russian guard, they would instantly put him to
 “death with their sabres, and fly; whereas by informing
 “them of the danger they incurred, he in some measure
 “gained their confidence: in effect, this behaviour of the
 “king seemed to soften them a little, and made them be-
 “lieve he did not mean to escape from them.”

* The king in his speech to the diet on the trial of the
 conspirators, interceded strongly for Kosinski, or John
 Kutsuma, to whom he gratefully expresses himself indebted
 for these favours in the following words:

“As I was in the hands of the assassins, I heard them
 “repeatedly ask John Kutsuma, if they should not assassinate
 “me, but he always prevented them. He was the first
 “who persuaded them to behave to me with greater gentle-
 “ness, and obliged them to confer upon me some services
 “which I then greatly wanted; namely, one to give me a
 “cap, and a second a boot, which at that time were no
 “trifling presents: for the cold air greatly affected the
 “wound in my head; and my foot, which was covered
 “with blood, gave me inexpressible torture, which conti-
 “nued every moment increasing.”

“out

“out any road, and ignorant of their way,
 “they at length found themselves in the
 “wood of Bielany, only a league distant from
 “Warsaw. From the time they had passed
 “the ditch they repeatedly demanded of Ko-
 “finski their chief, if it was not yet time to
 “put the king to death; and these demands
 “were reiterated in proportion to the obstacles
 “and difficulties they encountered.

“Meanwhile the confusion and conster-
 “nation increased at Warsaw. The guards
 “were afraid to pursue the conspirators, lest
 “terror of being overtaken should prompt
 “them in the darkness to massacre the king;
 “and on the other hand, by not pursuing
 “they might give them time to escape with
 “their prize, beyond the possibility of assist-
 “ance. Several of the first nobility at length
 “mounted on horseback, and following the
 “track of the assassins, arrived at the place
 “where his majesty had passed the ditch.
 “There they found his *pelisse*, which he had
 “lost in the precipitation with which he was
 “hurried away: it was bloody, and pierced
 “with holes made by the balls or sabres. This
 “convinced them that he was no more.

“The king was still in the hands of the
 “seven remaining assassins, who advanced

“ with him into the wood of Bielany, when
 “ they were suddenly alarmed by a Russian
 “ patrol or detachment. Instantly holding
 “ council, four of them disappeared, leaving
 “ him with the other three, who compelled
 “ him to walk on. Scarce a quarter of an
 “ hour after, a second Russian guard chal-
 “ lenged them anew. Two of the assassins
 “ then fled, and the king remained alone
 “ with Kosinski the chief, both on foot.
 “ His majesty, exhausted with all the fatigue
 “ which he had undergone, implored his
 “ conductor to stop, and suffer him to take a
 “ moment’s repose. Kosinski refused it, me-
 “ nacing him with his naked sabre; and at
 “ the same time informed him, that beyond
 “ the wood they should find a carriage. They
 “ continued their walk, till they came to
 “ the door of the convent of Bielany. Ko-
 “ sinski appeared lost in thought, and so much
 “ agitated by his reflections, that the king
 “ perceiving his disorder, and observing that
 “ he wandered without knowing the road,
 “ said to him, ‘ I see you are at a loss which
 “ way to proceed. Let me enter the con-
 “ vent of Bielany, and do you provide for
 “ your own safety.’ ‘ No,’ replied Kosinski,
 “ I have sworn.’

“ They proceeded till they came to Marie-
 “ mont, a small palace belonging to the
 “ house of Saxony, not above half a league
 “ from Warsaw : here Kofinski betrayed some
 “ satisfaction at finding where he was, and
 “ the king still demanding an instant’s re-
 “ pose, he consented at length. They sat
 “ down together on the ground, and the
 “ king employed these moments in endea-
 “ vouring to soften his conductor, and in-
 “ duce him to favour or permit his escape.
 “ His majesty represented the atrocity of the
 “ crime he had committed in attempting to
 “ murder his sovereign, and the invalidity
 “ of an oath taken to perpetrate so heinous
 “ an action : Kofinski lent attention to this
 “ discourse, and began to betray some marks
 “ of remorse. ‘ But,’ said he, ‘ if I should
 “ consent and reconduct you to Warsaw,
 “ what will be the consequence?—I shall be
 “ taken and executed !’

“ This reflection plunged him into new
 “ uncertainty and embarrassment. ‘ I give
 “ you my word,’ answered his majesty, ‘ that
 “ you shall suffer no harm ; but if you doubt
 “ my promise, escape while there is yet time.
 “ I can find my way to some place of secu-
 “ rity ; and I will certainly direct your pur-
 “ suers

“fuers to take the contrary road to that
“which you have chosen.’ Kofinski could
“not any longer contain himself, but throw-
“ing himself at the king’s feet, implored
“forgiveness for the crime he had commit-
“ted; and swore to protect him against every
“enemy, relying totally on his generosity
“for pardon and preservation. His majesty
“reiterated to him his assurances of safety,
“Judging, however, that it was prudent to
“gain some asylum without delay, and re-
“collecting that there was a mill at some
“considerable distance, he immediately made
“towards it. Kofinski knocked, but in vain;
“no answer was given: he then broke a
“pane of glass in the window, and intreated for
“shelter to a nobleman who had been plun-
“dered by robbers. The miller refused,
“supposing them to be banditti, and conti-
“nued for more than half an hour to persist
“in his denial. At length the king approach-
“ed, and speaking through the broken pane,
“endeavoured to persuade him to admit them
“under his roof; adding, ‘if we were rob-
“bers, as you suppose, it would be very easy
“for us to break the whole window, instead
“of one pane of glass.’ This argument
“prevailed. They at length opened the door,
“and

“ and admitted his majesty. He immediately
 “ wrote a note to general Coccei, colonel of
 “ the foot-guards. It was literally as fol-
 “ lows: ‘ *Par une espece de miracle je suis*
 “ *sauvé des mains des assassins. Je suis ici au petit*
 “ *moulin de Mariemont. Venez au plutôt me tirer*
 “ *d’ici. Je suis blessé, mais pas fort **.’ It was
 “ with the greatest difficulty, however, that
 “ the king could persuade any one to carry
 “ this note to Warsaw, as the people of the
 “ mill, imagining that he was a nobleman
 “ who had just been plundered by robbers,
 “ were afraid of falling in with the troop.
 “ Kosinski then offered to restore every thing
 “ he had taken; but his majesty left him
 “ all, except the blue ribbon of the White
 “ Eagle.

“ When the messenger arrived with the
 “ note, the astonishment and joy was incre-
 “ dible. Coccei instantly rode to the mill,
 “ followed by a detachment of the guards.
 “ He met Kosinski at the door with his sabre
 “ drawn, who admitted him as soon as he

* “ By a kind of miracle I am escaped from the hands
 “ of assassins. I am now at the mill of Mariemont. Come
 “ as soon as possible, and take me from hence. I am
 “ wounded, but not dangerously.”

“knew him. The king had sunk into a
 “sleep, caused by his fatigue; and was stretch-
 “ed on the ground, covered with the miller’s
 “cloak. Coccei immediately threw himself
 “at his majesty’s feet, calling him his sove-
 “reign, and kissing his hand. It is not easy
 “to paint or describe the astonishment of the
 “miller and his family, who instantly imi-
 “tated Coccei’s example, by throwing them-
 “selves on their knees *. The king returned
 “to Warsaw in general Coccei’s carriage, and
 “reached the palace about five in the morn-
 “ing. His wound was found not to be dan-
 “gerous; and he soon recovered the bruises
 “and injuries, which he had suffered during
 “this memorable night.

“So extraordinary an escape is scarce to
 “be paralleled in history, and affords ample
 “matter of wonder and surprise. Scarce
 “could the nobility or people at Warsaw
 “credit the evidence of their senses, when
 “they saw him return. Certainly neither

* “I have been at this mill, rendered memorable by so
 “singular an event. It is a wretched Polish hovel, at a
 “distance from any house. The king has rewarded the
 “miller to the extent of his wishes, in building him a
 “mill upon the Vistula, and allowing him a small pen-
 “sion.”

“ the escape of the king of France from Da-
 “ mien, or of the king of Portugal from the
 “ conspiracy of the duke d’Aveiro, were
 “ equally amazing or improbable as that of
 “ the king of Poland. I have related it very
 “ minutely, and from authorities the highest
 “ and most incontestible.

“ It is natural to enquire what is become
 “ of Kosinski, the man who saved his ma-
 “ jesty’s life, and the other conspirators. He
 “ was born in the palatinate of Cracow, and
 “ of mean extraction: having assumed the
 “ name of Kosinski *, which is that of a
 “ noble family, to give himself credit. He
 “ had been created an officer in the troops of
 “ the confederates under Pulaski. It would
 “ seem as if Kosinski began to entertain the
 “ idea of preserving the king’s life from the
 “ time when Lukawski and Strawenski aban-
 “ doned him; yet he had great struggles
 “ with himself before he could resolve on
 “ this conduct, after the solemn engagements
 “ into which he had entered. Even after he
 “ had conducted the king back to Warsaw,
 “ he expressed more than once his doubts of

* His real name was John Kutsmá.

“ the propriety of what he had done, and
“ some remorse for having deceived his em-
“ ployers.

“ Lukawski and Strawenski were both
“ taken, and several of the other assassins.
“ At his majesty's peculiar request and in-
“ treaty, the diet remitted the capital punish-
“ ment of the inferior conspirators, and con-
“ demned them to work for life on the for-
“ tifications of Kaminiec, where they now
“ are. By his intercession likewise with the
“ diet, the horrible punishment and various
“ modes of torture, which the laws of Po-
“ land decree and inflict on regicides, were
“ mitigated; and both Lukawski and Stra-
“ wenski were only simply beheaded. Ko-
“ sinski was detained under a very strict con-
“ finement, and obliged to give evidence
“ against his two companions. A person of
“ distinction, who saw them both die, has
“ assured me, that nothing could be more
“ noble and manly than all Lukawski's con-
“ duct previous to his death. When he was
“ carried to the place of execution, although
“ his body was almost extenuated by the
“ severity of his confinement, diet, and treat-
“ ment, his spirit unsubdued raised him
“ above

“above the terrors of an infamous and pub-
 “lic execution. He had not been permitted
 “to shave his beard while in prison, and his
 “dress was squalid to the greatest degree;
 “yet none of these humiliations could depress
 “his mind. With a grandeur of soul wor-
 “thy of a better cause, but which it was im-
 “possible not to admire, he refused to see or
 “embrace the traitor Kosinski. When con-
 “ducted to the scene of execution, which
 “was about a mile from Warsaw, he betray-
 “ed no emotions of terror or unmanly fear.
 “He made a short harangue to the multitude
 “assembled upon the occasion, in which he by
 “no means expressed any sorrow for his past
 “conduct, or contrition for his attempt on the
 “king, which he probably regarded as meri-
 “torious and patriotic. His head was severed
 “from his body.

“Strawenski was beheaded at the same
 “time, but he neither harangued the people,
 “nor shewed any signs of contrition. Pu-
 “laski, who commanded one of the many
 “corps of confederate Poles then in arms,
 “and who was the great agent and promoter
 “of the assassination, is still alive*, though
 “an

* After the conclusion of these troubles, Pulaski escaped
 from Poland, and repaired to America: he distinguished
 himself

“an outlaw and an exile. He is said, even
“by the Russians his enemies, to possess mi-
“litary talents of a very superior nature;
“nor were they ever able to take him prisoner
“during the civil war.

“To return to Kosinski, the man who
“saved the king's life. About a week after
“Lukawski and Strawenski's execution, he
“was sent by his majesty out of Poland.
“He now resides at Semigallia in the papal
“territories, where he enjoys an annual pen-
“sion from the king.”

I am enabled to add to Mr. Wraxall's ac-
count the following circumstances:

Upon general Coccei's arrival at the mill,
the first question which his majesty asked
was, whether any of his attendants had suffer-
ed from the assassins; and upon being inform-
ed that one of the heyducs was killed upon
the spot, and another dangerously wounded,
his mind, naturally feeling, now rendered
more susceptible by his late danger, was great-

himself in the American service, and was killed in the at-
tempt to force the British lines at the siege of Savannah
in 1779.

ly

ly affected; and his joy at his own escape was considerably diminished.

Upon his return to Warsaw, the streets through which he passed were illuminated with torches, and crowded by an immense concourse of people, who followed him to the palace, crying out incessantly "The king is alive." Upon his entering the palace, the doors were flung open, and persons of all ranks were admitted to approach his person, and to felicitate him upon his escape. The scene, as I have been informed by several of the nobility who were present, was affecting beyond description. Every one struggled to get near him to kiss his hand, or even to touch his cloaths: all were so transported with joy, that they even loaded Kosinski with caresses, and called him the saviour of their king. His majesty was so affected with these signs of zeal and affection, that he expressed in the most feeling manner his strong sense of these proofs of their attachment, and declared it was the happiest hour of his whole life. In this moment of rapture he forgot the dangers he had avoided, and the wounds he had received: and as every one seemed anxious to learn the circumstances of his escape, he

would

would not suffer his wounds to be inspected and dressed before he had himself satisfied their impatience, by relating the difficulties and dangers he had undergone. During the recital, a person unacquainted with the language might have discovered the various events of the story from the changes of expression in the countenances of the bystanders, which displayed the most sudden alterations from terror to compassion, from compassion to astonishment, and from astonishment to rapture; while the universal silence was only broken by sighs and tears of joy.

The king having finished the account, again repeated his assurances of gratitude and affection for the unfeigned proofs they had given of their loyalty; and dismissed them, by adding, that he hoped he had been thus miraculously preserved by Divine Providence, for no other purpose than to pursue with additional zeal the good of his country, which had ever been the great object of his attention.

Being now left alone, his majesty permitted the surgeons to examine the wound in his head. Upon cutting away the skin, it appeared that the bone was hurt, but not dangerously:

gerously: from the quantity of clotted blood, the operation of dressing was tedious and painful, and was submitted to by the king with great patience and magnanimity. The surgeons proposed at first to bleed him in the foot; but they laid aside this intention upon finding both his feet swollen considerably, and covered with blisters and bruises.

The family of the heyduc, who had saved the king's life by the loss of his own, was amply provided for: his body was buried with great pomp; and his majesty erected an handsome monument to his memory, with an elegant inscription expressive of the man's fidelity and of his own gratitude.

I saw the monument: it is a pyramid standing upon a sarcophagus, with a Latin and Polish inscription; the former I copied, and it is as follows:

" Hic jacet Georgius Henricus Butzau,
 " qui regem Stanislaum Augustum nefariis
 " parricidarum telis impetitur, die III Nov.
 " 1771, proprii pectoris clypeo defendens,
 " geminatis ictibus confossus, gloriosè occu-
 " buit. Fidelis subditi necem lugens, Rex
 " posuit

“posuit hocce monumentum illius in laudem,
“aliis exemplo *.”

* “Here lies George Henry Butzau, who, on the 3d of
“November, 1771, opposing his own breast to shield
“Stanislaus Augustus from the weapons of nefarious par-
“ricides, was pierced with repeated wounds, and glori-
“ously expired. The king, lamenting the death of a faith-
“ful subject, erected this monument, as a tribute to him,
“and an example to others.”

C H A P. IV.

Account of the plan and progress of the partition of Poland.—Projected by the king of Prussia.—Adopted by the emperor of Germany, and finally acceded to by the empress of Russia.—The consent of the king and diet of Poland extorted after great opposition.—Changes in the government introduced by the partitioning powers.—Spirited, but fruitless, resistance of the Polish delegates.—Fate of the dissidents.

WE are now arrived at that remarkable event of the present reign, the partition of Poland; which was planned with such profound secrecy, that it was scarcely suspected before it was carried into execution. Poland had long derived its principal security from its peculiar situation between three great powers, each equally interested to prevent the others from acquiring any increase of strength, or addition of territory: the union of these rival potentates was considered as a circumstance nearly impossible; and should such an unexpected

unexpected union take place, it was thought incredible that the other princes of Europe would passively submit to a material alteration in the balance of power.

Treaties upon treaties, and negotiations upon negotiations, had guaranteed to Poland the possession of her territory; and the very three powers who dismembered her provinces, had, at the present king's accession, solemnly renounced all right and title to any part of the Polish dominions. But treaties and guarantees are in general only adhered to until they can be broken with safety: the only effectual method for any state to secure its dominions, is to make itself respectable by its strength and unanimity, and to be prepared against any attacks. When a powerful people impute national disasters, which a proper vigour and foresight might have prevented, to the perfidy of foreign states, they only bear testimony, in more specious terms, to their own indolence, negligence, or weakness of government. Nor is that systematical jealousy, which modern nations profess to entertain for the balance of power, to be depended on as a more effectual safeguard to any particular state, than the faith of treaties. This principle, though founded on the most obvious and judicious

cious policy, and though at times productive of the most beneficial effects, is unluckily liable to be counteracted and defeated by an almost innumerable variety of contingencies. Where a combination of different powers is requisite to give it efficacy, those powers may want unanimity and concert: where again the exertion of only a single state is sufficient, that state may, by the temporary situation of affairs, or the casual interests of its governing party, be rendered incapable of acting with proper spirit. In a word, the anxiety of European states for the preservation of the balance of power is, by no means, an invariable pledge of protection to any single nation. Venice was brought to the verge of ruin by a reliance on this principle; Poland received from it no substantial protection; nor did England, though struggling singly against a host of enemies, reap, in her late contest, the slightest benefit from its influence.

The natural strength of Poland, if properly exerted, would have formed a more certain bulwark against the ambition of her neighbours, than the faith of treaties, or an attention in the other European nations to the balance of power. And it is extremely worthy of remark, that of the three partitioning

powers, Prussia * was formerly in a state of vassalage to the republic; Russia † once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; and Austria, scarce a century ago, was indebt-

* In the 13th century, all Prussia belonged to the knights of the Teutonic order. In 1454 that part, since denominated Polish or Western Prussia, revolted to Casimir IV. and was afterwards incorporated into the dominions of the republic; at the same time the knights were constrained to hold the remaining part, called Eastern Prussia, as a fief of the crown of Poland. In 1525 Eastern Prussia was erected into an hereditary duchy, and given to Albert of Brandenburg, as a Polish fief. Upon his death it fell to his son Albert Frederick, who being impaired in his faculties, the administration was vested first in Joachim Frederick elector of Brandenburg, and afterwards in Joachim's son John Sigismond, who had married Albert's daughter. Upon the demise of Albert without male heirs, John Sigismond, who succeeded to the duchy of Prussia, did homage for that duchy as a vassal of the republic. His grandson Frederick William, the great Elector, was the first duke of Prussia released from this badge of feudal dependence by John Casimir; Eastern Prussia being declared a sovereign, independent, and hereditary duchy.

Frederick, son of Frederick William the Great, assumed the title of King of Prussia, which however the Poles never acknowledged until 1764, at the accession of Stanislaus Augustus. His present majesty Frederick III. by the late partition treaty, now possesses both Western and Eastern Prussia.

† Under Sigismond III. whose troops got possession of Moscow, and whose son Ladislaus was chosen great duke of Muscovy by a party of the Russian nobles.

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C. 4. PARTITION OF POLAND. 67

ed to a sovereign * of this country for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence.

A kingdom, so lately the master or protector of its neighbours, would never have been so readily overwhelmed by them, had there not been the most glaring imperfections in its government. Poland, in truth, formerly more powerful than any of the surrounding states, has, from the defects of its constitution, declined in the midst of general improvements; and, after giving law to the north, is become an easy prey to every invader.

The partition of Poland was first projected by the king of Prussia. Polish or Western Prussia had long been an object of his ambition: exclusive of its fertility, commerce, and population, its local situation rendered it highly valuable to that monarch; it lay between his German dominions and Eastern Prussia, and while possessed by the Poles, cut off, at their will, all communication between them. During the course of the last general war, he experienced the most fatal effects from this disjointed state of his territories.

* John Sobieski, who compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Vienna, and delivered the house of Austria from the greatest dangers it ever experienced.

By the acquisition of Western Prussia, his dominions would be rendered compact, and his troops in time of war be able to march from Berlin to Königsburgh without interruption. The period was now arrived, when the situation of Poland seemed to promise the attainment of this favourite object. He pursued it, however, with all the caution of an able politician. On the commencement of the troubles, he shewed no eagerness to interfere in the affairs of this country; and although he had concurred with the empress of Russia in raising Stanislaus Augustus to the throne of Poland, yet he declined taking any active part in his favour against the confederates. Afterwards, in 1769, when the whole kingdom became convulsed throughout with civil commotions, and desolated likewise by the plague; he, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the spreading of the infection, advanced his troops into Polish Prussia, and occupied that whole district.

Though now completely master of the country, and by no means apprehensive of any formidable resistance from the disunited and distracted Poles; yet, as he was well aware that the security of his new acquisition depended upon the acquiescence of Russia and Austria,

Austria, he planned the partition of Poland. He communicated the project to the emperor, either during their interview at Niefs in Silesia, in 1769, or in that of the following year, at Neustadt; from whom the overture met with a ready concurrence. Joseph, who had before secretly encouraged the confederates, and even commenced a negotiation with the Porte against Russia, now suddenly altered his measures, and increased his army towards the Polish frontiers. The plague presenting to him, as well as to the king of Prussia, a specious motive for stationing troops in the dominions of the republic; he gradually extended his lines, and, in 1772, occupied the whole territory, which he has since dismembered. But, notwithstanding this change in his sentiments, his real views upon Poland were at first so effectually concealed, that the Polish rebels conceived that the Austrian army was advancing to act in their favour; not supposing it possible, that the rival courts of Vienna and Berlin could act in concert.

Nothing more remained towards completing the partition, than the accession of the empress of Russia. That great princess was too discerning a politician not to regard with a jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers

into Poland. Possessing an uncontrouled ascendancy over the whole country, she could propose no material advantage from the formal acquisition of a part; and must purchase a moderate addition to her territory by a considerable surrender of authority. The king of Prussia, well acquainted with the true interests of Russia in regard to Poland, and with the capacity of the empress to discern those interests, forbore (it is said) opening any negotiation on the subject of the partition, until she was involved in a Turkish war. At that crisis he dispatched his brother Prince Henry to Petersburg, who suggested to the empress that the house of Austria was forming an alliance with the Porte, which, if it took place, would create a most formidable combination against her; that, nevertheless, the friendship of that house was to be purchased by acceding to the partition; that upon this condition the emperor was willing to renounce his connection with the Grand Signor, and would suffer the Russians to prosecute the war without interruption. Catharine, anxious to push her conquests against the Turks, and dreading the interposition of the emperor in that quarter: perceiving likewise, from the intimate union between the courts of Vienna and
and

and Berlin, that it would not be in her power, at the present juncture, to prevent the intended partition, closed with the proposal; and selected no inconsiderable portion of the Polish territories for herself. The treaty was signed at Petersburg in the beginning of February, 1772, by the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian plenipotentiaries.

As the troops of the three courts were already in possession of the greatest part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed in on all sides, were soon routed and dispersed; and Europe waited in anxious expectation what would be the issue of this unexpected union: yet such was the profound secrecy with which the partitioning powers proceeded, that for some time after the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjectures were entertained even at Warsaw * concerning their real intentions; and

* I have a collection of MS. letters written from Warsaw before and after the partition: the following passages from those letters will shew the mysterious conduct of the three courts, and the uncertainty of the Poles concerning the dismemberment.

“ On cache à Vienne les vrais motifs et le but de la prochaine entrée des troupes en Pologne,” &c. May 6, 1772.

and the late lord Cathcart, the English minister at Petersburg, was able to obtain no authentic information of its signature, until two months after the event.

The first formal notification of any pretensions to the Polish territory was in the month of September, 1772, announced to the king and senate assembled at Warsaw, by the Imperial ambassador; which was soon followed by the memorials of the Russian and Prussian courts, specifying their respective claims. It would be tedious to enter into a detail of the pleas urged by the three powers in favour of their several demands; it would be no less uninteresting to lay before the reader, the answers and remonstrances of the king

All the letters speak of the apprehensions of dismemberment; but the first which mentions it with any certainty is dated May 19, which relates, that one of the king of Prussia's officers, passing through Marienburgh, even said, that the neighbourhood of that town had fallen to the king by the partition.

May 30. "On croit de plus et plus qu'on nous partagera, tant d'avis qui s'accordent là dessus ne peuvent pas être sur de vaines imaginations et conjectures," &c.

August 13. "La bombe va crever, on acheve le traité de partage," &c.

August 24. "C'en est fait, le traité ébauché au mois de Février vient de prendre consistance," &c.

and

and senate, as well as the appeals to the other states which had guarantied the possessions of Poland. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonstrated against the usurpations; but remonstrances without assistance could be of no effect. Poland submitted to the dismemberment, not without the most violent struggles; and now, for the first time, felt and lamented the fatal effects of faction and discord.

A diet being demanded by the partitioning powers, in order to ratify the cession of the provinces, was, after some delay, convoked by the king in the following summons: "Since there are no hopes from any quarter, and any further delays will only tend to draw down the most dreadful calamities upon the remainder of the dominions which are left to the republic; the diet is convened for the 19th of April, 1773, according to the will of the three courts: nevertheless, in order to avoid all cause of reproach, the king, with the advice of the senate, again appeals to the guaranties of the treaty of Oliva."

The diet met at the appointed time; and such was the spirit of the members, that, notwithstanding the deplorable situation of their

their country, the threats and bribes of the three powers, the partition-treaty was not carried through without much difficulty. For some time the majority of the nuntios appeared determined to oppose the dismemberment; and the king firmly persisted in the same resolution. The ambassadors of the three courts enforced their requisitions by the most alarming menaces; and threatened the king with deposition and imprisonment. They also gave out by their emissaries, that in case the diet continued refractory, Warsaw should be pillaged. This report was industriously circulated, and made a sensible impression upon the inhabitants. By menaces of this sort, by corrupting the marshal of the diet, who was accompanied with a Russian guard; in a word, by bribes, promises, and threats, the members of the diet were at length prevailed on to ratify the dismemberment. In the senate, however, or upper house, there was a majority of only six; in the lower house, or assembly of the nuntios, of but one single vote in favour of the measure *. An act was then passed to limit the sessions to the term of a few days, and dele-

* By 54 against 53.

gates were appointed, with full powers to adjust, in concert with the ambassadors, all the terms of the dismemberment. The commissioners, or delegates, on the breaking up of the diet in May, immediately entered upon their office; and, by the month of September, finally concluded the treaty of partition in conformity to the dictates of the three courts. At this juncture, several nobles were bold enough to issue manifestoes and remonstrances in various parts of the kingdom, against the cession of the provinces, and to reprobate the conduct of the partitioning powers; but such remonstrances were totally disregarded, and may be considered only as the last convulsions of an expiring nation.

Of the dismembered countries *, the Russian province is the largest, the Austrian the most populous, and the Prussian the most commercial. The population of the whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of souls; the first containing 1,500,000, the second 2,500,000, and the third 860,000. Western Prussia was

* The reader, by consulting the map of Poland (prefixed to this work), will see the situation and extent of the three dismembered provinces. For an account of the Austrian province, see Book II. Chap. I.; of the Russian, Book III. Chap. I.

the greatest loss to Poland, as by the dismemberment of that province, the navigation of the Vistula entirely depends upon the king of Prussia: by the loss consequently of this district, a fatal blow was given to the trade of Poland; for his Prussian majesty has laid such heavy duties upon the merchandize passing to Dantzic, as greatly to diminish the commerce of that town, and to transfer a considerable portion of it to Memmel and Koningsburgh.

Although the limits of Poland were settled by the treaty of partition, yet the Austrians and Prussians continually extended their frontiers: the emperor seized upon Casimir, and even avowed an intention of taking possession of Cracow and Kaminiec; while Frederick alleged these usurpations as a justification for similar encroachments on his part; urging, that he could not, consistent with his own security, see the emperor increasing his dominions without following his example, and assuming an equivalent.

Catharine was forced for a time to connive at these encroachments; but no sooner was peace * established with the Turks, and the rebellion

* The peace between the Empress and the Turks was signed on the 21st of July, 1774, in Marshal Romanzof's camp

rebellion of Pugatcheff crushed, than she immediately turned her whole attention to Poland; and it is owing to her spirited remonstrances, that both Austrians and Prussians have relinquished their usurpations, and confined themselves to the limits marked by the treaty of partition.

The partitioning powers did less injury to the republic by dismembering its fairest provinces, than by perpetuating the principles of anarchy and confusion, and establishing on a

camp near Bulgaria; and in a letter from Warsaw, dated August 29, of the same year, it is said, "The Emperor and King of Prussia continued encroaching upon the Polish territories, and enlarging their frontiers which were marked by the treaty of Peterburgh. But upon the conclusion of the peace, the Austrian and Prussian troops retired within their respective lines. Behold already the good effects of this glorious peace! What would have become of us, if the arms of the Ottoman empire had prospered according to the wishes of many?"

And in another, dated Sept. 14, 1775, "The king of Prussia has written to the empress of Russia a letter in a most enchanting style. After much praise, he adds, that notwithstanding the justice of his claim upon those parts which he has annexed to his former acquisitions, he shall make no difficulty in sacrificing them, as a proof of his readiness to oblige her Imperial majesty; provided the house of Austria will also restore what she has taken."

permanent

permanent footing, that exorbitant liberty *, which is the parent of faction, and has proved the decline of the republic. Under pretence of amending the constitution, they have confirmed all its defects, and have taken effectual precautions to render this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its present deplorable state.

The delegates, who ratified the treaty of partition, being also empowered by the diet to concert with the three courts any alterations in the constitution which might appear beneficial to the kingdom, continued sitting from May 1773 to March 1775, during which period the convocation of the ordinary diet was postponed, until the members of the delegation had agreed to all the innovations proposed by the ambassadors; and until every part of the government was finally arranged. Notwithstanding the wretched condition of Poland, and the resistless power of the three courts, yet the king and the majority of the delegates long withheld their consent to the proposed alterations.

* “ Our liberty,” said a Pole, “ is like a two-edged sword in the hand of an infant, and for that very reason our neighbours are anxious to preserve it entire.”

Some idea of their spirit may be formed from the following account of one of the meetings, when the propositions relating to the change of government were first produced in September, 1773. Prior to the appearance of the three ambassadors in the assembly, much was said, and with great vehemence, against the projected innovations; many reproaches were thrown out against the authors of that plan, for sacrificing the public advantage to their private ambition, resentment, and interests. At the entrance of the three ambassadors, a profound silence took place for some minutes, until the secretary of the Russian embassy began to read the plan for new-modelling the constitution; upon which a general murmur spread through the whole assembly, increasing, as he proceeded, to such a degree as almost to drown his voice: nor was it without frequent interruptions, that he was permitted to finish its recital. He had scarcely concluded, when the whole body of delegates loudly demanded the treaties of partition and alliance: the ambassadors answering, that many points could not be adjusted without farther instructions from their respective courts; it was replied, that in the mean time they might introduce the treaty of commerce, which they were

were authoris'd to conclude. At all events, it was urged, the proposal concerning the change of government is premature; a revolution of such extreme importance demands the most deliberate examination, and ought not to be hurried through, as if it was a circumstance of no concern to the nation. One of the delegates, who was most violent in his opposition, delivered his sentiments with a freedom which astonished the assembly; and when the ambassadors, who did not understand the Polish idiom, applied to a Castellan for an explanation of what was said, the latter excused himself, under pretence of not being qualified for the office of interpreter, as having but an imperfect knowledge of the French language. When, at last, one of the Palatines, who was of the ambassador's party, acquainted them with the contents of the speech; the orator ventured to thank him for explaining the purport of his harangue in so able a manner; while the praises which, in a fine tone of irony, he affected to bestow upon the Palatine for his readiness to oblige, as well as for his independent spirit, occasioned much mirth in the assembly. The undisguised approbation given by the greatest part of the members to this orator, convinced the ambassadors

embassadors that this was no time to obtrude their resolutions upon the delegates: they accordingly broke up the meeting, and postponed the business to a future opportunity*. The next session, however, was not more favourable to their wishes, nor did the patriotic zeal of the delegates seem to abate. Their opposition indeed to this measure continued so violent, that more than a year elapsed before the ambassadors were able, by the influence of threats, bribery, and promises, to obtain a majority; and before the delegates, terrified or seduced into compliance, formally acceded to the change of government. This important point being obtained, the delegation was dissolved on the 13th of April, 1775, and all the articles were confirmed by the general diet.

The following note, delivered by the three ambassadors to the delegates on the 13th of September, 1773, will give the best general

* The following passage in one of my MS. letters, dated so late as Nov. 13, 1774, will shew the difficulty of settling with the delegates.

"The plan for the permanent council continues to be read: it still excites continual debates, and more will arise; but all will be finished according to the will of the ministers."

idea of the changes made in the constitution.
 “ The courts are so interested in the pacifi-
 “ cation of Poland, that, while the treaties
 “ are getting ready to be signed and ratified,
 “ the ministers cannot lose any of that valu-
 “ able time, so necessary for the re-establish-
 “ ment of order, and the tranquillity of this
 “ kingdom. We now, therefore, deliver to
 “ the delegation a part of those cardinal laws,
 “ to the ratification of which our courts will
 “ not suffer any contradiction.

I. “ The crown of Poland shall be for ever
 “ elective, and all order of succession pro-
 “ scribed: any person who shall endeavour to
 “ break this law, shall be declared an enemy
 “ to his country, and liable to be punished
 “ accordingly.

II. “ Foreign candidates to the throne, be-
 “ ing the frequent cause of troubles and di-
 “ vision, shall be excluded; and it shall be
 “ enacted, that, for the future, no person can
 “ be chosen king of Poland, and great duke
 “ of Lithuania, excepting a native Pole, of
 “ noble * origin, and possessing land within
 “ the kingdom. The son, or grandson, of a
 “ king of Poland, cannot be elected imme-

* That is, any gentleman.

“ diately

“diately upon the death of their father or
 “grandfather; nor shall be eligible, till after
 “an interval of two reigns.

III. “The government of Poland shall be
 “for ever free, independent, and of a repub-
 “lican form.

IV. “The true principle of the said go-
 “vernment consisting in the strict execution
 “of its laws, and the equilibrium of the three
 “estates, namely, the king, the senate, and
 “the equestrian order; a Permanent Council
 “shall be established, in which the executive
 “power shall be vested. In this council the
 “equestrian order, hitherto excluded from the
 “administration of affairs in the intervals of
 “the diets, shall be admitted; as shall be
 “more clearly laid down in the future ar-
 “rangements.”

These arrangements having been carried
 into execution, I shall make a few remarks
 upon the several articles.

By the first, the house of Saxony, and all
 foreign princes, who might be likely to give
 weight to Poland by their hereditary domi-
 nions, are rendered incapable of filling the
 throne. By the second, the exclusion of a
 king's son or grandson, excepting after an in-
 terval of two reigns, removes the faintest

prospect of an hereditary sovereignty; and entails upon the kingdom all the evils inseparable from that most wretched form of government, an elective monarchy. By the third article, the *liberum veto*, and all the exorbitant privileges of the equestrian order, are confirmed in their utmost latitude; and by the last, the prerogatives of the crown, before too greatly reduced, are still farther diminished.

Before the conclusion of this chapter, it will be proper to mention the fate of the dissidents. Their pretensions were finally settled between the republic and the mediating powers, at the last meeting of the delegates. The catholic party opposed in so violent a manner the restoration of their ancient privileges, that, by the consent of the foreign courts, they continue excluded from the diet, the senate, and the permanent council. In return, however, the dissidents enjoy the free exercise of their religion; are permitted to have churches without bells; schools and seminaries of their own; they are capable of sitting in the inferior courts of justice; and in the tribunal, appointed to receive appeals in matters of religion, three of their communion are admitted as assessors.

C. 4. PARTITION OF POLAND. 85

In consequence of this toleration, the dissenters have constructed churches in different parts of the kingdom; one built upon this occasion by the Lutherans at Warsaw, has the following inscription:

"Has ædes Deo J. O. sacras
 "Cœtus Varsoviensis in August. Confess. ex
 "consensu Stanislai Augusti Regis et Rei-
 "publicæ struere cœpit. Aprilis 24,
 "1777."

CHAP. V.

Government of Poland.—Supreme and legislative authority resides in the diet.—Executive power vested in the permanent council.—Origin of the diet.—Place and time of assembling.—Ordinary and extraordinary.—Convoked by the king.—Constituent parts.—King, senate, and nuntios.—Proceedings.—Liberum Veto.—History and causes of its introduction.—Its dreadful effects.—How remedied.—Diet of confederacy.—The plain of Vola where the kings are elected.—Account of the diets of convocation and election.

THE government of Poland is with great propriety styled a republic, because the king is so exceedingly limited in his prerogative, that he resembles more the chief of a commonwealth, than the sovereign of a powerful monarchy.

The supreme legislative authority of this republic resides in the three estates of the realm, the king, senate, and equestrian order, assembled in a national diet *. The executive power,

* For an account of the diet, see the next chapter.

which

which was heretofore entrusted to the king and senate, is now, according to the new form of government, vested in the supreme permanent council, composed of the king, and a certain number of members, elected every two years in the diet, by the majority of voices *.

The general diet of Poland enjoys, as I have before observed, the supreme authority: it declares war, makes peace, levies soldiers, enters into alliances, imposes taxes, enacts laws; in a word, it exercises all the rights of absolute sovereignty.

Some historians place the earliest diet in the reign of Casimir the Great; but it is very uncertain whether it was first convened in his time; and still more doubtful, of what members it consisted. Thus much is unquestionable, that it was not until the reign of Casimir III. that this national assembly was modelled into its present form †.

The place of holding the diets depended formerly upon the will of the kings; and Louis even summoned two in Hungary. In those early times Petricau was the town in which they were most frequently assembled:

* See in the Appendix to this volume an act for the establishment of the permanent council.

† See p. 8.

but in 1569, at the union of Poland and Lithuania, Warsaw was appointed the place of meeting; and in 1673, it was enacted, that of three successive diets, two should be held in this capital, and one at Grodno* in Lithuania. This regulation has been generally followed, until the reign of his present majesty, when the assemblies have been uniformly summoned to Warsaw †.

Diets are ordinary and extraordinary; the former are convened every two years, the latter as occasion requires. In 1717 the usual season for the meeting of the ordinary diets was fixed for Michaelmas; but during the present reign it has been occasionally changed to the month of October or November.

The king, with the advice of the permanent council, convokes the diet, by means of circular letters issued to all the Palatines in their respective provinces, at least six weeks before the time appointed for its meeting: these letters are accompanied with a short sketch of the business to be agitated in the diet.

* Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 262.

† See Book II. Chap. VI. Art. Grodno.

The constituent parts of the diet are the three estates of the realm, namely,

The king,

The senate, and

The nobles or gentry, by their nuntios or representatives.

I. The king, considered in his capacity of president, is only, as it were, the chief of the diet: he subscribes all acts; signs all decrees agreed to by the assembly; issues out all ordinances in his own name, and that of the republic, without enjoying the right of a negative in any of those particulars. He has no vote, excepting upon an equality of suffrages; but is at liberty to deliver his sentiments upon all questions. His present majesty is esteemed one of the most eloquent among the Polish orators; he has an agreeable tone of voice, and much skill in suiting and varying his cadence to the subjects of his discourse: he harangues with great energy of style and dignity of manner; and his speeches always make a considerable impression upon the members of the diet. When he is disposed to speak, he rises from his seat, advances a few steps, and cries out, "I sum-

" mon

"mon the ministers of state to the throne."

Then the great officers of the crown, who are sitting at the lower end of the senate-house, come forward and stand near the king. The four great marshals strike the ground at the same time with their staffs of office; and the first in rank says, "The king is going to speak;" after which his majesty begins.

II. The second estate, or the senate, is composed of spiritual and temporal senators.

1. The bishops or senators spiritual have the precedence over the temporal senators. The archbishop of Gnesna is primate and chief of the senate, and viceroy in case of an interregnum.

2. The temporal are Palatines, Castellans, and the great officers of state. The palatines are the governors of the provinces, who hold their offices for life. In time of war, when the army of the republic is summoned, the palatines levy and lead the force of their palatinates into the field, according to the tenure of feudal services; in time of peace, they convoke the assemblies of the palatinates, preside in the county courts of justice, and judge the Jews within their respective jurisdictions, &c. The Castellans are divided into

into Grand and Petty Castellans: their office, in time of peace, is merely nominal; but when the military or feudal services are required, they are the lieutenants of the palatines, under whom they command the troops of the several districts in the palatinates.

The ministers of state, who sit in the senate, are sixteen in number; namely, the two great marshals of Poland and Lithuania, the two sub-marshals, the two great chancellors, the two vice-chancellors, the two great generals, the two little generals, the two great treasurers, and the two sub-treasurers.

All the senators were formerly appointed by the king; but by the late change of government, his majesty's choice is restricted to one of three candidates presented by the permanent council*. The senators, once nominated, cannot be deprived of their charges, excepting by the diet.

III. The third estate is formed by the nuntios or representatives of the equestrian order. These representatives are chosen in the dietines or assemblies of each palatinate, in which every noble or gentleman, at the

* See Appendix, N° I.

age of eighteen, has a vote, or is capable of being elected. There is no qualification in point of property required, either for the electors or elected; it is only necessary that the nuntio should be a noble; that is, a person not engaged in trade or commerce, possessing land himself, or the son of a person possessing land, or of an antient family which formerly possessed land *. Each nuntio must be twenty-three years of age.

The general proceedings of the diet are as follow: The king, senate, and nuntios, first meet all together in the cathedral of Warsaw, and hear mass and a sermon. After service, the members of the senate, or upper-house, repair to the senate-house; and the nuntios, or lower-house to their chamber, when the latter choose, by a majority of voices, a marshal, or speaker of the equestrian order: in order to preclude unnecessary delays, the election is required to take place within three

* *Est autem nobilis qui patre nobili natus in suis possessionibus vivens juribus nobilitatem utitur.* Leng. J. P. v. II. p. 8.—Les nobles qui ont des terres, leurs enfans males, leurs freres, et autres qui sont reconnus pour avoir leurs possessions et être de race ancienne et noble. Loix et Conf. de la Diete de 1768, p. 62.

days after their meeting *. Two days after the choice of their speaker, the king, senate, and nuntios, assemble in the senate-house, which is called the junction of the two houses. The nuntios then kiss the king's hand; and the members of the diet take their places in the following order.

The king is seated, in regal state, upon a raised throne, under a canopy at the upper end of the apartment. At the lower end, opposite the throne, sit in armed chairs the

* Formerly, it being stipulated that the election of the marshal should take place as soon as possible, in most diets much time elapsed before a marshal was chosen; and as the sitting of the national assembly is confined to six weeks, it sometimes happened, that the nuntios could never agree in the choice; and several diets broke up without transacting any business. Connor, who visited Poland in John Sobieski's reign, says upon this head, "He that designs to be elected marshal, must treat the gentry all the while, otherwise he would have no vote for him; and commonly they prolong the election, that they may live the longer at the candidate's charges." v. II. p. 92.

In order to remedy this inconvenience, it was enacted in 1690, that the marshal must be chosen on the first day of the meeting; but in 1768, the time allowed for the election was extended to three days. See Leng. J. P. II. p. 322. and Loix et Const. de 1768, p. 52.

ministers

ministers of state. The bishops*, palatines, and castellans, are ranged in three rows of armed chairs, extending from the throne on each side; and behind these are placed the nuntios upon benches covered with red cloth. The senators have the privilege of wearing their caps, but the nuntios remain uncovered.

All the members being seated, the *Paſta Conventa* are read; when the ſpeaker of the equeſtrian order, as well as each nuntio, is empowered to interrupt the peruſal by remonſtrating againſt the infringement of any particular article, and demanding at the ſame time a redreſs of grievances. Then the great chancellor propoſes, in the king's name, the queſtions to be taken into conſideration; after which, his majeſty nominates three ſenators, and the ſpeaker ſix nuntios, to prepare the bills. The diet, by majority of voices, chuſes a committee to examine the accounts of the

* Including the archbishops of Gneſna and Vilna, each at the head of his reſpective ſuffragans.

The reader will find a print, which gives a faithful representation of the diet, in Connor's Hiſtory of Poland, v. II. p. 82. One trifling error muſt be corrected: the ſeats marked IIII are for the miniſters of ſtate, when not ſtanding near the throne.

treafury.

treasury. The members* of the permanent council are elected in the manner mentioned in the preceding chapter.

These preliminary transactions ought to be dispatched in the space of three weeks; at which period the two houses separate: the nuntios retire into their own chamber, and all the bills undergo a separate discussion in both houses. Those which relate to the treasury, are approved or rejected by the sentiments of the majority. But in all state-matters† of

* The equestrian members of the last permanent council are permitted to be present in this assembly without having any vote, until the resolutions of the council are approved by the diet. The senators, who have a seat in the council, are present of course.

† Matters of state are thus defined by the constitution of 1768. 1. Increase or alteration of the taxes. 2. Augmentation of the army. 3. Treaties of alliance and peace with the neighbouring powers. 4. Declaration of war. 5. Naturalization and creation of nobility. 6. Reduction of the coin. 7. Augmentation or diminution in the charges of the tribunals, or in the authority of the ministers of peace and war. 8. Creation of places. 9. Order of holding the diets or dietines. 10. Alterations in the tribunals. 11. Augmentation of the prerogatives of the senatus-consulta. 12. Permission to the king to purchase lands for his successors. 13. Arrier-ban, or summoning the nobles to arms.

In all these cases unanimity is requisite. See *Loix et Const. de la Diete de 1768*, p. 46.

the

the highest importance no resolution of the diet is valid, unless ratified by the unanimous assent of every nuntio; each of whom is able to suspend all proceedings by his exertion of the *Liberum Veto*.

The diet must not sit longer than six weeks: on the first day, therefore, of the sixth week the senate and nuntios meet again in the senate-house. The state-bills (provided they are unanimously agreed to by the nuntios, an event which seldom happens in a free diet) are passed into laws; but if that unanimity be wanting to them, they stand rejected; and the business relating to the treasury, which has been carried by a majority, is read and registered.

At the conclusion of the sixth week the laws, which have passed, are signed by the speaker and nuntios; and the diet is of course dissolved.

The extraordinary diets are subject to the same regulations as the ordinary diets, with this difference, that they cannot, by the constitutions of 1768, continue longer than a fortnight. The same day in which the two houses assemble in the senate-house, the questions are to be laid before them; and the nuntios return immediately to their own chamber.

chamber. On the thirteenth day from their first meeting, the two houses are again united; and on the fifteenth day, after the laws have been read and signed, the diet breaks up as usual.

The most extraordinary characteristic in the constitution of Poland, and which seems peculiarly to distinguish this government from all others, both in antient and modern times, is the *Liberum Veto*, or the power which each nuntio enjoys in a free diet*, not only like the tribunes of antient Rome, of putting a negative upon any law, but even of dissolving the assembly. That every member of a numerous society should be invested with such a dangerous privilege, in the midst of the most important national transactions, is a circumstance in itself so incredible, as to deserve a minute enquiry into the causes which introduced a custom so pregnant with anarchy, and so detrimental to public welfare.

The privilege in question is not to be found in any period of the Polish history, antece-

* A free diet, in which unanimity is requisite, is distinguished from a diet of confederacy, in which all business is carried by the majority.

dent to the reign of John Casimir. It was under his administration, that in the year 1652, when the diet of Warsaw was debating upon transactions of the utmost importance which required a speedy determination, that Sicinski, nuntio of Upita in Lithuania, cried out, "I stop the proceedings *." Having uttered these words, he quitted the assembly, and, repairing immediately to the chancellor, protested; that as many acts had been proposed and carried contrary to the constitution of the republic, if the diet continued to sit, he should consider it as an infringement of the laws. The members were thunderstruck at a protest of this nature, hitherto unknown. Warm debates took place about the propriety of continuing or dissolving the diet: at length, however, the venal and discontented faction, who supported the protest, obtained the majority; and the assembly broke up in great confusion.

This transaction changed entirely the constitution of Poland, and gave an unlimited scope to misrule and faction. The causes which induced the Poles to acquiesce in establishing the *Liberum Veto*, thus casually introduced, were probably the following.

* Leng. Jus Pub. v. II. p. 215.

1. It was the interest of the great officers of state, particularly the great general, the great treasurer, and great marshal, in whose hands were vested the administration of the army, the finances, and the police, to abridge the sitting of the diet. These great officers of state, being once nominated by the king, enjoyed their appointments for life, totally independent of his authority, and liable to no controul during the intervals of the diets, to which alone they were responsible. This powerful body accordingly strongly espoused the *Liberum Veto*; conscious that they could easily, and at all times, secure a nuntio to protest; and by that means elude all enquiry into their administration. 2. By a fundamental law of the republic, nobles accused of certain capital crimes could only be brought to trial before the diet; and as, at the period just mentioned, many persons stood under that description, all these and their adherents naturally favoured an expedient tending to dissolve the only tribunal, by which they could be convicted and punished. 3. The exigencies of the state, occasioned by the continual wars in which Poland had been engaged, demanded, at this particular crisis, an imposition of several heavy taxes;

and as the sole power of levying all pecuniary aids resided in the diet; all the nuntios, who oppose the raising of additional subsidies, seconded the proposal for shortening the duration of that assembly. 4. But the principal reason, which carried through, and afterwards supported the power of dissolving diets, is to be derived from the influence of some of the great neighbouring powers, interested to foment anarchy and confusion in the Polish counsels. Before this period, if they wished to form a cabal, and to carry any point in the national assembly, they were obliged to secure a majority of votes: under the new arrangement they were able to attain their end on much easier terms; and to put an end to any diet unfriendly to their views, by the corruption of a single member.

The bad effects of the *Liberum Veto* were soon felt by the nation to such an alarming degree, that all the members in the diet of 1670 bound themselves by an oath not to exert it; and even passed a resolution that it should be entirely void of effect during the continuance of that meeting. Notwithstanding, however, these salutary precautions, one Zabokrziski, nuntio from the palatinate of Bratlaw,

Bratlau, interposing his negative, brought this very diet to a premature dissolution *.

This *Liberum Veto*, indeed, has been always considered by the most intelligent Poles as one of the principal causes, which has contributed to the decline of their country. From the æra of its establishment public business has continually suffered the most fatal interruption; it abruptly broke up seven diets in the reign of John Casimir; four under Michael; seven under John Sobieski; and thirty during the reigns of the two Augusti: so that, within the space of 112 years, 48 diets have been precipitately dissolved by its operation; during which period Poland has continued almost without laws, without justice, and, excepting the reign of John Sobieski, with few symptoms of military vigour. Yet so strongly did the motives above displayed attach the Poles to this pernicious privilege, that in the act of confederacy, framed in 1696, after the decease of John Sobieski, the *Liberum Veto* is called the dearest and most invaluable palladium of Polish liberty †.

The Poles, however, having fatally experienced the disorders arising from the *Libe-*

* Zawodchi Hist. Arcana.

† Unicum et specialissimum Jus Cardinale.

rum Veto, would certainly have abolished it, if they had not been prevented by the partitioning powers: and it still exists in its full force *. It should be observed, that neither the king nor the senate, but only the nuntios, enjoy the power of interposing this negative upon the proceedings of the diet †.

* It would appear, at first sight, as if, by the following regulation, established by the diet of 1768, the exertion of the *Liberum Veto* was in some instances restrained. "The absence of a nuntio, who has interrupted the proceedings of the diet, shall be no hindrance to the transaction of treasury matters." *Loix et Const. de la Diete de Varsovie*, 1768, p. 56. But this restriction of the *Liberum Veto*, in effect, is of no validity.

For among the cardinal laws established by the same diet, it is enacted, "that matters of state cannot be passed but by a free diet and unanimous consent;" p. 18. And again, "that after the treasury business, matters of state shall be brought forward, when the opposition of a single nuntio shall stop all proceedings;" p. 56. And in another place, it is decreed, that in free diets, the "*Liberum Veto* shall hold good in all matters of state;" p. 44. When we recollect the definition of state matters (p. 95, note †), we cannot but perceive, that the power of interposing a negative still effectually exists; yet any limitation is of some service, as it tends to the introduction of order. Since 1777, several free diets have been convened; but without effecting any material alteration.

† Lengnich says, that the senators have the power of breaking up the diet; but he adds, that they never make use of this privilege; *Jus Pub. II.* p. 46. which amounts to the same as their not having it.

It

It will naturally strike the reader, that if every representative possesses the *Liberum Veto*, how can any transaction be carried on? or how is it possible that any one bill should pass into a law? for no motion can be conceived which is not liable to be opposed by the intrigues of party, or the jealousy of the neighbouring powers. In order, therefore, to avoid the anarchy attendant upon free diets through the operation of the *Liberum Veto*, the Poles have lately had recourse to diets by confederacy; which, though composed of the same members, and held under the same exterior forms as free diets, differ from them in the essential circumstance of allowing business to be determined by the plurality of votes. These diets have long been known to the constitution, and have at times been used upon extraordinary emergencies; but within these ten years they have been regularly held at the stated time for summoning ordinary diets. Indeed, according to the true principles of the Polish government, no confederacy ought to be entered into, excepting upon the following occasions: in defence of the king's person, upon any foreign invasion or domestic conspiracy; and during an interregnum at the diets of

convocation and election*. But as no other means have been found to prevent perpetual anarchy, the nation is obliged to submit to an infringement of the constitution, which operates for the general good †.

DIET OF ELECTION.

During my continuance at Warsaw I visited the spot where the kings of Poland are chosen. I was so fortunate as to be accompanied by a nobleman of the senate, who obligingly explained all the forms and ceremonies of the election, and answered all the questions which my curiosity suggested to me upon the occasion. Immediately upon my return to Warsaw, while the impression was yet warm upon my memory, I noted down the following account of the place and mode of election: I was more circumstantial than usual, as well because the subject is interesting; as because

* It is decreed, however, by the code of 1768, that in every diet of convocation all state matters must pass unanimously, p. 58.

† But as it is enacted by the diet of 1768, that all matters of state must be carried unanimously in free diets, I presume that the diets by confederacy only transact the common business, without making any new laws, or repealing old statutes.

most of the descriptions which I have read of this ceremony abound with errors.

The spot, which is settled by the constitution for the place of election, is the plain of Vola, about three miles from the capital. In the midst of this plain are two enclosures of ground, one for the senate, and the other for the nuntios. The former is of an oblong shape, surrounded by a kind of rampart or ditch; in the midst of which is erected, at the time of election, a temporary building of wood, called *szopa*, covered at top and open at the sides. Near it is the other enclosure for the nuntios, of a circular shape, from which it derives its name of *kola* or circle, within which there is no building erected, the nuntios assembling in the open air. When the two chambers are joined, they meet within the *kola*, the senators chairs and the benches for the nuntios being ranged in the same regular order as in the senate-house at Warsaw, while the seat of the primate is placed in the middle. The *szopa* is always pulled down at the conclusion of the election; so that I could only trace the site of the enclosures, the ramparts of earth remaining in the same state. I had an opportunity, however, of seeing a painting representing the *szopa* and

and whole scene of election, which, as I was informed, was perfectly accurate.

But before I describe the election, it may be necessary to give a short detail of the principal occurrences which precede that ceremony.

Upon the king's demise the interregnum commences: the regal authority is then vested in the archbishop of Gnesna primate of Poland, as interrex or regent. He announces the death of the king by circular letters, convokes the dietines and diets of convocation; and, in a word, performs all the functions of royalty during the vacancy in the throne.

The diet, which is first convened upon the sovereign's decease, is called the diet of convocation; and is always held at Warsaw, previous to the diet of election, which assembles in the plain of Vola. The sovereign authority resides in this assembly, in the same manner as in those which are summoned while the throne is filled. The primate presides like the king, with this difference, that he does not place himself upon the throne, but sits in an armed chair stationed in the middle of the senate-house. The diet issues out acts or ordinances, arranges or changes the form of government, settles the *Paśta Conventa*,

Conventa, and appoints the meeting of the diet of election. The interval between the death of the king and the nomination of his successor is uncertain; its longer or shorter duration depending upon the intrigues and cabals of the candidates, or the pleasure of those foreign powers, who give law to Poland. It is always a state of turbulence and licentiousness; the kingdom is divided into parties and factions; justice is in a manner suspended; and the nobles commit every disorder with impunity.

Unanimity * being requisite in all matters of state, it is easy to conceive the delays and cabals, the influence and corruption, employed to gain the members in the diet of convocation. As soon as all the points are adjusted, whether the acts have passed unanimously or otherwise, the members, previous to their separation, enter into a general confederacy to support and maintain the resolutions of the diet.

* This unanimity, in fact, does not exist; for the strongest side forces the weaker to accede or to retire. Yet in the diet of 1768 it was enacted, that in the diets of convocation state questions could only be carried unanimously. Several diets of convocation have been frequently assembled before all the affairs could be finally arranged.

At the appointed day the diet of election is assembled, during which Warsaw and its environs is a scene of confusion, and frequently of bloodshed. The chief nobility have large bodies of troops in their service, and repair to the diet attended by their numerous vassals and a large retinue of domestics; while each petty baron, who can afford to maintain them, parades about with his retainers and slaves.

On the day in which the diet of election is opened, the primate, senate, and nobility, repair to the cathedral of Warsaw, to hear mass and a sermon; from whence they proceed in due order to the plain of Vola. The senators enter the *szopa*, and the nuntios take their places within the *kola*; while the other nobles are stationed in the plain. The senate and the nuntios, after having passed their respective resolutions, as in the ordinary diets, assemble together in the *kola*, when the primate, seated in the middle, lays before them the objects to be taken into consideration; the *Paſta Conventa*, settled at the diet of convocation, are read and approved, all necessary arrangements made, and the day of election appointed. The diet then gives audience to the foreign ministers, who are permitted by recommendation to interfere in the choice of a king,

a king, and to the advocates of the several candidates. All these affairs take up several days; and would perhaps never be terminated, as unanimity is requisite; if the assembly was not overawed by the foreign troops, who are always quartered near the plain of election.

Upon the day appointed for the election, the senate and nuntios assemble, as before, in the *kola*, while the nobles are ranged in the open field in separate bodies, according to their several palatinates, with standards borne before them, and the principal officers of each district on horseback. The primate, having declared the names of the candidates, kneels down and chants a hymn; after which the senators and nuntios join the gentry of their respective palatinates: then the primate, on horseback, or in a carriage, goes round the plain to the different bodies of the gentry as they are stationed according to their palatinates; and, having collected the votes, proclaims the successful candidate. Each noble does not give his vote separately, for that would be endless; but when the primate goes round, the collective body of each palatinate name the person they espouse. At the conclusion of this ceremony the assembly breaks up.

On

On the following day the senate and nuntios return to the plain; the successful candidate is again proclaimed, and a deputy dispatched to acquaint him of his election, as no candidate is allowed to be present. After the proclamation, the gentry retire; and the diet, having appointed the diet of coronation, is dissolved.

All elections are contested: not indeed upon the spot; for the terror of a neighbouring army has, for some time past, forced the nobles to appear unanimous. But the party who dissent, retiring from the plain, remonstrate; and if they are sufficiently strong, a civil war ensues. Indeed the confusion, disorder, and bloodshed which formerly attended these popular elections would still be renewed, if it were not for the interference of foreign troops: and thus the country draws some advantage from an evil, which is considered by the Poles as the disgrace and scandal of every election.

C H A P. VI.

I. Finances and taxes of Poland.—Revenue of the king.—II. Commerce.—General exports and imports.—Causes of the low state of trade.—Failure of the plan of opening the navigation of the Dniester.—Navigation of the Notez.—III. Military establishment.—Corps of Ulans.—State of the army.—Confederacies.—Russian troops.

I. FINANCES AND TAXES OF POLAND.

THE following extract from the proceedings of the diet of 1768, will serve to shew the annual receipts and disbursements of government before the dismemberment:
 “ The annual revenues of the treasury of the
 “ crown *, amount to 10,748,245 florins
 “ = £. 298,562. 7s. 2½d. The expences to
 “ 17,050,000 = £. 473,611. 2s. 2½d. It
 “ would be necessary, therefore, to increase
 “ the revenues, so as to answer the excess of

* Poland, exclusive of Lithuania.

“ the

“ the expences above the receipts, namely,
 “ 6,301,755 florins = £. 175,048. 15s.; but
 “ as a part of the antient revenues must
 “ be abolished, the new taxes must yield
 “ 10,236,737 florins = £. 284,353. 13s. 4d.
 “ The treasury of Lithuania produces the an-
 “ nual sum of 3,646,628 = £. 101,295. 4s. 6d.
 “ the expences amount to 6,478,142 =
 “ £. 179,948. 7s. 6d. The revenues ought
 “ therefore to be augmented 2,831,514 =
 “ £. 78,653. 3s. 4d. But as some antient im-
 “ posts must be abolished, the new taxes must
 “ yield 4,250,481 = £. 118,068. 18s. 4d.*”

Poland, by the late dismemberment, lost
 nearly half of her annual income; namely,
 that part arising from the starosties now oc-
 cupied by the partitioning powers; from the
 duties † upon merchandize sent down the
 Vistula to Dantzic; and particularly from the
 profits of the salt mines in Austrian Poland.
 Those of Wielitska ‡ alone amounted to
 3,500,000 Polish florins, or £. 97,222 ster-
 ling, which was nearly equal to a fourth part

* Loix et Const. de la Diete de 1768, p. 70.

† The greatest part of these duties are now paid to the
king of Prussia.

‡ See Book II. Chapter 2.

of the government revenues before the partition.

In order to supply this deficiency, it became necessary to new-model and increase the taxes. Accordingly, in the diet of 1775, a few of the old taxes were abolished; some were augmented; and others were added; so as to make the neat revenues as high as they were before the dismemberment.

The principal taxes are as follow:

Poll-tax of the Jews. Each Jew, both male and female, infants and adults, pays three Polish florins, or about 1*s.* 8*d.* *per annum*; this imposition, which is of very old standing, was augmented in 1775 a florin per head.

A fourth of the starosties. These are the great fiefs of the crown, in the king's gift, holden by the possessors during life. The starost enjoys, beside large estates in land, territorial jurisdiction; the fourth of his revenues arising from the land is paid into the treasury of the republic. By the late change of government these starosties, after the demise of the persons now enjoying them, and of those who have the reversion, are to revert to the public, and their whole amount to

be appropriated to the expences of government*.

Excise of beer, mead, and spirituous liquors distilled from corn. This article must not be inconsiderable, considering the quantity of corn grown in Poland, which, for want of external commerce, cannot be exported, and the propensity of the people to spirituous liquors.

Monopoly of tobacco. Different duties upon importation and exportation. Formerly all the nobles were permitted to import and export foreign goods and merchandize free of duty, a privilege which effectually diminished, and almost absorbed, the profits of the tax in question. In 1775 this right was abolished; and all imported and exported commodities now pay duty without any distinction. Considering the great quantity of foreign manufactures introduced into Poland, and chiefly for the use of the nobility, this alteration must make a considerable addition to the revenues of government.

Tax upon chimnies. Before the partition, this tax was confined to Lithuania: in 1775

* See the account of the Permanent Council, Appendix, N° I.

it was rendered general and considerably augmented: it is the most profitable of all the taxes, but lies very heavy upon the common people and peasants. Each chimney is assessed in the following proportion. In palaces, or houses of the chief nobility, at 16 Polish florins *per ann.* = about 8*s.* 2½*d.*; houses of the principal merchants in Warsaw at 15 = 7*s.* 7*d.*; other brick houses from 10 to 14 = from 5*s.* 7½*d.* to 7*s.* 3½*d.*; wooden houses from 6 to 8 = from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 6½*d.*; best houses in other large towns 12 = 6*s.* 8*d.*; in the small towns and villages from 6 to 8 = 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 6½*d.*; peasants cottages from 5 to 7 = 2*s.* 9½*d.* to 4*s.* The peasants pay no other tax to government; and indeed, considering their poverty, and the oppression of their lords and great nobility, this addition is more than they can well support.

All these several imposts amount to 11,628,461 Polish florins, or £. 323,012 sterling.

The king received before the partition a neat revenue of 7,000,000 Polish florins, or £. 194,500, which arose from the royal demesnes and the profit of the salt-works. In order to indemnify him for the loss of the

salt-works, and the royal estates situated in the dismembered provinces, he draws from the public treasury 2,666,666 florins, or £.74,074 sterling; which, in addition to the remaining royal demesnes, and some starosties granted for his use, make his present income the same as before the dismemberment. Out of this income he only pays his household expences and menial servants; the salary of the great officers of state, and the other general expences, being supplied from the public fund. The whole revenue of government, including the royal demesnes and starosties lately granted to the king, amount to 15,961,795 florins, or £.443,938; and by subtracting the 7,000,000 florins appropriated to the king's privy purse, there remains for the support of the army, the salaries of the great officers of state, and other general charges, only 8,961,795 florins, or £.248,938. Is. a sum so small, that it hardly seems in any wise equal to the purposes for which it is designed. And yet it is adequate to the ordinary current expences: for the regular army is small, the great officers of state receive little or nothing from the public treasury, being amply rewarded with the royal fiefs, which are so numerous and profitable; each palatinate pays
its

its own officers from its private treasury; while the several judges, justices of the peace, and other civil officers who enjoy territorial jurisdiction, may enrich themselves sufficiently by extortions and oppressions without any salary.

II. COMMERCE OF POLAND.

Poland contains several navigable rivers, which flow through its dominions in all directions; and convey its exports to the havens of the Baltic. By means of the Vistula and the rivers falling into it, the productions of the palatinates of Cracow, Lublin, and Masovia, are sent to Thorn, and from thence to Dantzic and Konigsburg. By the Niemen the commodities of Lithuania are transported to Memmel; and by the Duna those of Eastern Lithuania and White Russia to Riga. The chief exports of Poland are all species of grain, hemp, flax, cattle, masts, planks, timber for ship-building, pitch and tar, honey, wax, tallow, pot-ash, and leather: its imports are foreign wines, cloths, stuffs, manufactured silks and cotton, fine linen, hardware,

hardware, tin, copper, silver and gold, glass ware, furs, &c.

From the various productions and great fertility of Poland, its trade might be carried to a considerable height; but the following causes tend to suppress the spirit of commerce.

1. The nobles are degraded if they engage in any kind of traffic.
2. The burghers of the large towns are not sufficiently rich to establish any manufactures; and either through want of industry, or through dread of excessive extortions from the principal nobility, leave almost all the retail-trade in the hands of foreigners and Jews. The inhabitants of the small towns, who are exposed to greater oppressions, are still more disqualified from pursuing any branch of commerce.
3. The peasants being slaves, and the property of their master, cannot retire from the place of their nativity without his consent. John Albert, observing that commerce could never flourish while this restriction subsisted, enacted, that one peasant in a family should be permitted to quit his village, either for the purpose of trade or literature; but the clause, by which they were enjoined to obtain the consent

sent of the lord, frustrated the purpose of this excellent law, and rendered it nugatory*.

As the Poles are obliged to draw from foreign countries the greatest part of the manufactured goods necessary for their interior consumption; the specie which is exported exceeds the imported more than 20,000,000 Polish florins, or £. 555,555.

Poland has been called the granary of the North; an appellation which it seems to deserve rather from its former than from its present fertility. For its lands not being sufficiently cultivated, as well on account of the slavery of the peasants, as the unequal distribution of property; the exportation of corn is by no means answerable to the general nature of the soil, or the extent of its provinces, which, if properly improved, would be capable of supplying half Europe with grain. Several palatinates in Poland, and more particularly Podolia and Kiovia, are extremely adapted to the production of grain: though many parts of these provinces remain uncultivated; yet the portion which is in tillage yields a greater supply than is necessary for the consumption of the inhabitants. The

* Stat. Reg. Pol. p. 169.

only method of employing the overplus is to extract from it a spirituous liquor. But an ingenious Polish author* has shown, that the provinces in question might undoubtedly send their grain down the Dniester through Turkish Moldavia; and open an intercourse with the ports of the Black Sea. This project was formerly in agitation.

During the reign of Sigismund Augustus, Cardinal Commandon, in travelling through Podolia, being much struck with the fertility of that province, first suggested the measure; and Sigismund, having obtained the concurrence of the grand Signor, actually dispatched some Poles down the Dniester, to explore the state of the river. But the persons employed on this occasion, happening after a few days voyage to meet with some impediments from rocks and sand-banks, declared, without any further examination, that the Dneister was not navigable; and although Commandon represented to the king, that the obstacles pointed out might, without any great difficulty, be

* M. de Wiebitzki, a Polish gentleman of great learning and information. The treatise alluded to in this and other places of this work, is written in the Polish language, and called Patriotic Letters, addressed to the Chancellor Zamoiski.

surmounted;

furmounded; yet the project was postponed, and never again revived *.

The judicious author above-mentioned †, in touching upon this subject, laments the ignorance of his countrymen; and ridicules the precipitation with which they abandoned a plan so favourable to the improvement of their commerce. He shews, that the inattention of the Poles to the natural advantages of their country has been exemplified in another instance of a similar kind. By means of the Notez, a river of Great Poland, which falls into the Oder, the Poles might have conveyed grain into Silesia, and from thence down the Oder into other parts of Germany. But they never attempted the navigation of the Notez, from an ill-founded persuasion of its not being practicable. No sooner, however, had the king of Prussia acquired the country through which that river takes its course, than it was instantly, and without undergoing the least alteration, covered with vessels.

* Vie de Commandon.

† Mr. de Wiebitzki.

III. MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT.

The king has a corps of near 1,000 troops in his own pay, and entirely dependent upon himself. These troops consist chiefly of Ulanes or light horse, who furnish alternately the escort which accompanies his majesty. We saw a small party, about thirty, who were encamped near his villa, and had afterwards an opportunity of examining them more minutely. The Ulanes are chiefly Tartars, many of them Mahometans, and are greatly to be relied on for their fidelity. The corps is composed of gentlemen and vassals: they all form in squadron together, but are differently armed; they indiscriminately carry both sabres and pistols, but the gentlemen only bear lances of about ten feet long; instead of which, the others are armed with carabines. Their dress is a high fur cap, a green and red jacket, pantaloons of the same colour, which cover the boots as low as the ankle; and a petticoat of white cloth descending to the knee. Their heads are all shaved after the Polish manner*. Their lances, at the end of which

* See Book II. Chapter II.

is fastened a long swallow-tailed flag of black and red cloth, are shorter and weaker than those of the Austrian Croats; but they carry and use them much in the same manner, and with no less dexterity. The men, though of different sizes, seemed fine and well grown; but were greatly disfigured with their petticoats and pantaloons. Their horses were about fourteen hands high, of remarkable spirit, with great strength of shoulder. Poland is much esteemed for its breed of horses; and the king of Prussia procures his light cavalry from this country. The breed, however, has been almost ruined during the late civil wars, and the nobility are now chiefly supplied from Tartary.

The armies of Poland and Lithuania are independent of each other, being separately commanded, and under the direction of the respective great generals. In time of war the king in person may lead the forces of the republic. Formerly the power of these great generals was uncontrouled, excepting by the diet, to which alone they were amenable for their administration. Their enormous authority, however, underwent some limitation in 1768, by the appointment of a committee of war, of which they are perpetual presidents; and

and was still further circumscribed by the establishment of the military department in the permanent council, whose office is described in the Appendix, N° 1.

In 1778. the following was the state of the Polish army.

Troops of Poland.

	Complement.	Effective men.	Wanting.
Staff officers - - -	27	27	—
Cavalry - - -	4997	4708	289
Infantry, including } artillery - - }	7286	6703	583
	—	—	—
Total of Poland	12310	11438	872

Army of Lithuania.

Staff officers - - -	25	25	—
Cavalry - - -	2670	2497	173
Infantry, including } artillery - - }	4770	4465	305
	—	—	—
Total of Lithuania	7465	6987	478
Total of the Polish and Lithuanian troops,	19775	18425	1350

The

The standing army of Poland being so inconsiderable; the defence of the country, in case of invasion, is left to the gentry at large, who are assembled by regular summons from the king with the consent of the diet. Every palatinate is divided into districts, over each of which proper officers are appointed; and every person possessing free and noble tenures is bound to military service, either singly or at the head of a certain number of his retainers, according to the extent and nature of his possessions. The troops thus assembled are obliged only to serve for a limited time; and are not under the necessity of marching beyond the limits of their country. The mode of levying and maintaining this army is exactly similar to that practised under the feudal system. At present, though it is almost totally unfit for the purposes of repelling a foreign enemy, it is yet a powerful instrument in the hands of domestic faction: for the expedition with which it is raised under the feudal regulations, facilitates the formation of those dangerous confederacies, which suddenly start up on the contested election of a sovereign, or whenever the nobles are at variance with each other.

There

There are two sorts of confederacies. The first are those formed with the consent of the king, senate, or equestrian order, assembled in the diet; by which the whole nation confederates for the good of the country. The second are the confederacies of the several palatinates, which unite for the purpose of redressing any grievances, or remonstrating against encroachments of the sovereign power. These may be particular, or general, and are usually the forerunners of a civil war. The general confederacy, which is always in opposition to the king, is called Rokoz, and is formed by the union of the particular confederacies.

As every Polish gentleman has a right to maintain as many troops as he chuses, it may easily be conceived, that each palatinate is the scene of occasional disputes and petty contentions between the principal nobles, and sometimes even between their respective retainers. In such a dreadful state of anarchy, it is a wonder that the whole kingdom is not a perpetual scene of endless commotions, and that the nation is composed of any thing else but lawless banditti. It redounds, therefore, greatly to the honour of the

the natural disposition of the Poles, that amid all these incentives to confusion, a much greater degree of tranquillity, than could be well expected, is maintained.

The Russian troops have been so long quartered in this country, that they may almost be considered as forming part of the national army. The whole kingdom is entirely under the protection, or, in other words, under the power of Russia, who rules over it with the same unbounded authority as over one of its own provinces. The king is in effect little more than a viceroy; while the Russian ambassador has the real sovereignty, and regulates all the affairs of the kingdom according to the direction of his court. The empress maintains within the country about 10,000 soldiers. Every garrison is composed of Russian and native troops; a thousand of the former are stationed at Warsaw; and each gate of the town is guarded by a Russian and Polish centinel. In a word, the Russian troops hold the nobles in subjection; and for the present prevent internal feuds and commotions. But when Poland (if ever that event should happen) shall be again left to herself, the same fury of contending parties,
now

now smothered, but not annihilated, will probably break out with redoubled fury; and again generate those disturbances which have long convulsed this unhappy kingdom: and to what a wretched state is that country reduced, which owes its tranquillity to the interposition of a foreign army!

C H A P. VII.

Wretched state of Poland.—Division of the inhabitants into I. Nobles or gentry; II. Clergy; III. Burghers; IV. Peasants.—State of Vassalage.—Its fatal effects.—Instances of a few nobles who have given liberty to their peasants.—Advantages resulting from that practice.—V. Jews.—Population of Poland.

POLISH liberty may be considered as the source of Polish wretchedness; and Poland appears to me, as far as I can judge by the specimens which fell under my observation, of all countries the most distressed. Nor indeed do the natives themselves attempt to palliate or deny this melancholy fact. Upon expressing my surprise at one instance of the abuse of liberty, to which I had been myself a witness, to a person well versed in the laws of the country, he returned for answer, “ If you knew the confusion and anarchy of our constitution, you would be surpris’d at nothing: many grievances necessarily
 Vol. I. K “ exist

“ exist even in the best-regulated states ; what
 “ then must be the case in ours, which of
 “ all governments is the most detestable ?”
 Another lamenting the dreadful situation of
 his country, said to me, “ The name of
 “ Poland still remains, but the nation no
 “ longer exists : an universal corruption and
 “ venality pervades all ranks of people. Many
 “ of the first nobility do not blush to receive
 “ pensions from foreign courts : one pro-
 “ fesses himself publicly an Austrian, a second
 “ a Prussian, a third a Frenchman, and a
 “ fourth a Russian.”

The present situation of the Polish nation
 impressed my mind with the most pathetic
 ideas of fallen greatness ; and I could not
 consider, without a mixture of regret and sym-
 pathy, a people, who formerly gave law to
 the north, reduced to so low a state of insignif-
 icance and domestic misery. The nation
 has few manufactures, scarcely any com-
 merce ; a king almost without authority ;
 the nobles in a state of uncontrouled anarchy ;
 the peasants groaning under a yoke of feudal
 despotism far worse than the tyranny of an
 absolute monarch. I never before observed
 such an inequality of fortune, such sudden
 transition from extreme riches to extreme
 poverty ;

poverty; wherever I turned my eyes, luxury and wretchedness were constant neighbours. In a word, the boasted Polish liberty is not enjoyed in the smallest degree by the bulk of the people, but is confined among the nobles or gentry. The truth of these remarks will appear from the following account of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Poland are nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants.

I. The Nobles are divided into two classes: the members of the senate, and of the equestrian order. Having, upon a former occasion*, described the powers which senators enjoy in their collective capacity, it will be unnecessary to repeat them in this place.

We should be greatly deceived if we were to understand the word *noble* in our sense of that term. In the laws of Poland, a noble is a person who possesses a freehold † estate,
or

* See p. 90.

† Some citizens have the right of possessing lands within a league of the town which they inhabit; but these lands are not free and noble, and are always distinguished from the freeholds of the nobles; the latter are called in the statute law *terrigenæ*, or earth-born, free to live where they please, to distinguish them from persons necessarily

or who can prove his descent from ancestors formerly possessing a freehold, following no trade or commerce, and at liberty to choose the place of his habitation. This description includes all persons above burghers and peasants. The members of this body below the rank of senators are called, in a collective state, the equestrian order; and in their individual capacities nobles, gentlemen, freemen, or land-holders, which appellations are synonymous.

All the nobles or gentry are, in the strict letter of the law, equal by birth; so that all honours and titles are supposed to add nothing to their real dignity*. By means of their representatives

inhabiting towns, "Quos leges nominant terrigenas, non alii sunt, quam nobiles; exprimitque prius vocabulum, polonicum *Ziemiánin*, quo in agris sibi et suo jure vivens intelligitur, quæ nobilium in Polonia est conditio, qui non civitates & oppida, sed sua prædia habitantes, vitam suo arbitrio disponunt." Leng. Jus Pub. I. p. 297. a true feudal distinction. They are also styled *indigenæ* or natives, and *conciues* or fellow-citizens of the republic.

* It is particularly stipulated, that titles give no precedence; which is called in the *Pacta Conventa* of Augustus III. "Jus æqualitatis inter cives regni," &c. upon which Lengnich makes the following remark, "Omnis hæc nobilitas natura est æqualis, quod omnes ex illâ, ad eadem

representatives in the diet, they have a share in the legislative authority: and in some cases, as in the election of a king, they assemble in person; when each noble is capable of being elected a nuntio, of bearing the office of a senator, and of presenting himself as a candidate upon a vacancy in the throne. No noble can be arrested without being previously convicted, except in cases of high treason, murder, and robbery on the highway, and then he must be surpris'd in the fact. The definition of a noble being thus applied not only to persons actually possessing

“ eadem jura, in eandem spem nascuntur. Tituli Principum, Marchionum, Comitum, quibus alii præ aliis insigniuntur, vocabula sunt, quæ statum non mutant, & qui illis gaudent, non alio, quam nobilium jure, sua tenent. Neque Polonia alias Principum, alias Marchionum, alias Comitum, alias Equitum leges novit; sed omnibus una nobilium lex scripta est. Inde in conclavi Nunciorum Principum & Comitum nominibus fulgentes, cæteris permixtos videmus. Nullum ibi inter modici agelli & paucorum jugerum, ac aliquot oppidorum multorumque vicorum dominum, observatur discrimen. Præcedunt alii, alii sequuntur non ex titulis familiarum, sed ad palatinatum terrarumque, ex quibus nuntii missi, ordinem. Eadem in senatu ratio. Assignat loca, muneris non stemmatis dignitas. Et qui senator non princeps, non comes, præcedit principem, ac comitem, non senatorem.” Pac. Con. p. 31.

land, but even to the descendants of former landholders, comprehends such a large body of men, that many of them are in a state of extreme indigence; and as, according to the Polish law, they lose their nobility if they follow trade or commerce, the most needy generally devote themselves to the service of the richer nobles, who, like the old feudal barons, are constantly attended by a large number of retainers. As all nobles, without any distinction, enjoy the right of voting, as well for the choice of nuntios, as at the election of a king, their poverty and their number is frequently productive of great inconvenience. Hence the king, who has justly conceived a great veneration for the English constitution, wished to introduce into the new code a law similar to ours relating to county elections, that no person should be intitled to a vote in the choice of a nuntio but those who possessed a certain qualification in land*. This proposition,

* Connor mentions a similar attempt of John Casimir, which failed of success. " King Casimir observing the
 " great abuses that spring from every little gentleman's
 " pretended privilege to sit in the little diets, ordered
 " that none should have a vote there, in electing a deputy
 " or nuntio, but such only as had at least two hundred
 " crowns

proposition, however, has been received with such marks of dissatisfaction, that there is little probability of its ever being suffered to pass into a law.

II. The Clergy. Micislaus, the first sovereign of Poland who embraced Christianity, A. D. 966, granted several immunities and estates to the clergy. His successors and the rich nobles followed his example; and the riches of this body continued increasing as well from royal as private donations, until the diet, apprehensive lest in process of time the greatest part of the estates should pass into the hands of the clergy, forbade by different laws, and particularly in 1669, the alienation of lands to the church, under penalty of forfeiture: and under the present reign several estates have been confiscated which had been bestowed upon the clergy since that period.

From the time of the first establishment of the catholic religion by Cardinal Ægidius, nuntio from Pope John XII. the bishops have been admitted into the senate as king's coun-

“ crowns a year; whereupon the palatine of Posnania,
 “ offering to put this law in execution in his province, was
 “ not only affronted, but also narrowly escaped with his
 “ life,” Hist. of Poland, v. II. p. 104.

fellors. They were usually appointed by the king, and confirmed by the pope; but, since the creation of the permanent council, they are nominated by his majesty out of three candidates chosen by the council: a bishop, the moment he is appointed, is of course entitled to all the privileges of a senator. The archbishop of Gnesna is primate, as we have before observed, the first senator in rank, and viceroy during an interregnum.

The ecclesiastics are all freemen, and, in some particular instances, have their own courts of justice, in which the canon law is practised. Of these courts of justice peculiar to the clergy, there are three sorts; 1. The consistorial, under the jurisdiction of each bishop in his diocese; 2. The metropolitan, under the primate, to which an appeal lies from the bishop's court; 3. That of the pope's nuntio, which is the supreme ecclesiastical judicature within the kingdom, to which an appeal may be made both from the decision of the bishop and of the primate. In cases of divorce, dispensations for marriages, and in other instances, the parties, as in all catholic countries, must apply to the pope; by which means no inconsiderable sum

of money is drawn out of the country by the fee of Rome.

In most civil affairs the clergy are amenable to the ordinary courts of justice. In criminal causes, an ecclesiastic is first arrested by the civil powers, then judged in the consistory, and, if convicted, he is remitted to the civil power, in order to undergo the penalty annexed to the crime of which he has been found guilty. One great ecclesiastical abuse, which has been abolished in most other catholic countries, still exists in this kingdom: when the Pope sends a bull into Poland, the clergy publish and carry it into execution, without the confirmation or approbation of the civil power. Before 1538 ecclesiastics were allowed to hold civil employments; but in that year priests were declared incapable of being promoted to secular offices. They were also exempted from paying any taxes; but this exemption has been wisely taken off, and they are now rated in the same manner as the laity, with this difference; that their contributions are not called taxes, but charitable subsidies.

III. The next class of people are the Burg-
hers, inhabiting towns, whose privileges were
formerly

formerly far more considerable than they are at present.

The history of all countries, in which the feudal system has been established, bears testimony to the pernicious policy of holding the lower classes of men in a state of slavish subjection. In process of time, a concurrence of causes * contributed gradually to soften the rigour of this servitude with regard to the burghers, in several of the feudal kingdoms. Among other circumstances tending to their protection, the most favourable was the formation of several cities into bodies politic, with the privilege of exercising municipal jurisdiction. This institution took its rise in Italy, the first country in Europe which emerged from barbarism; and was from thence transferred to France and Germany. It was first introduced into Poland about 1250, during the reign of Boleslaus the Chaste, who being instructed in the Teutonic or German laws by Henry the bearded duke of Wratislaw, granted first to Cracow, and after-

* It does not enter into the plan of this work to describe these causes: the reader will find them amply and ably illustrated in a View of the State of Europe, prefixed to Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V.

wards to several other towns, the privileges possessed by the German cities: this body of rights is called in the statutes of Poland *Jus Magdeburgicum et Teutonicum*; and the cause assigned for its introduction is, that no city could flourish and increase under the feudal laws*. In the 13th and following centuries the kings and great barons built several towns, to all which they granted a charter of incorporation, conceived in the following terms †: “*Transfero hanc villam ex jure Polonico in jus Teutonicum.*” The beneficial tendency of this political regulation soon appeared, by a sudden increase of population and wealth: the burghers of some of the principal free towns acquired such a degree of importance and consideration, as to give their assent to treaties, and send deputies to the national assembly; a noble was not degraded by being a burgher, and a burgher was capable of being an officer of the crown. A treaty ‡ which Casimir the Great entered into with the knights of the Teutonic order, was not only signed by the king and the

* Leng. Jus Pub. p. 524.

† Chromer.

‡ Dlugoffius, L. IX. p. 1067.

principal nobles, but also by the burghers of Cracow, Posen, Sandomir, and other towns; and under the same monarch Wierneſk *, burgomaſter of Cracow, was ſubmaſhal and treaſurer of the crown.

The burghers enjoyed the privileges juſt mentioned during the Jaghellon line, as appears from the different acts of Sigifmond I. and his ſon Sigifmond Auguſtus. During the reign of the former the nobles endeavoured to exclude the deputies of Cracow from the diet; but that monarch not only confirmed the right of that city to ſend representatives, but even decreed, that the citizens were included within the claſs of nobles †.

* This Wierneſk was ſo rich, that in 1363, when the emperor Charles IV. married at Cracow Elizabeth grand-daughter of Caſimir, he gave a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to his ſovereign, to the emperor, kings of Hungary, Denmark, Cyprus, and other princes, who were preſent at the marriage: beſide other magnificent gifts which he beſtowed upon the company, he preſented Caſimir with a ſum equal to the portion of the bride. Chromer, p. 324.

† Conſules Cracoviennes, &c. debere et poſſe omnibus conſiliis, quibus alii nuntii terreſtres aderunt, &c. more ſolito conſultari. Statuta Pol. p. 8. Cracovia eſt incorporata et unita nobilitati; ib. terrarumque civitatumque nuntii, p. 353.

When

When the crown became wholly elective, the burghers suffered continual encroachments on their privileges at every nomination of a new sovereign; they lost the right of possessing lands, excepting within a small distance of their towns, of sending deputies to the diets, and were of course excluded from all share of the legislative authority. The principal cause of this exclusion was, that as the burghers were not obliged, by the nature of their tenures, to march against the enemy, but were only under the necessity of furnishing arms and waggons for the use of the army; they incurred the contempt of the warlike gentry, who, in the true spirit of feudal arrogance, considered all occupations, but that of war, as beneath a freeman, and all persons, not bound to military services, as unqualified for the administration of public affairs.

The burghers, however, still enjoy a considerable portion of freedom, and possess the following immunities: they elect their own burgomaster and council; they regulate their interior police; and have their own criminal courts of justice, which decide without appeal. A burgher, when plaintiff against a noble, is obliged to carry the cause into the courts

courts of justice belonging to the nobles, where the judgment is final; when defendant, he must be cited before the magistrates of his own town, from whence an appeal lies only to the king in the assessorial tribunal. To this exemption from the jurisdiction of the nobles, though only in one species of causes, the burghers owe whatever degree of independence they still retain; as without this immunity they would long ago have been reduced to a state of vassalage.

IV. The Peasants in Poland, as in all feudal governments, are serfs or slaves; and the value of an estate is not estimated so much from its extent, as from the number of its peasants, who are transferred from one master to another like so many head of cattle.

The peasants, however, are not all in an equal state of subjection: they are distinguished into two sorts; 1. German; 2. Natives.

1. During the reign of Boleslaus the Chaste, and more particularly in that of Casimir the Great, many Germans settled in Poland, who were indulged in the use of the German laws*; and their descendants still continue

* Lubienfki, p. 108. Florus Pol. p. 118. Chromer, 319.

to enjoy several privileges not possessed by the generality of Polish peasants. The good effects of these privileges are very visible in the general state of their domestic œconomy; their villages are better built, and their fields better cultivated, than those which belong to the native Poles; they possess more cattle, pay their quit-rents to their lords with greater exactness; and, when compared with the others, are cleaner and neater in their persons.

2. The slavery of the Polish peasants is very antient, and was always extremely rigorous. Until the time of Casimir the Great, the lord could put his peasant to death with impunity; and, when the latter had no children, considered himself as the heir, and seized all his effects. In 1347, Casimir prescribed a fine for the murder of a peasant; and enacted, that, in case of his decease without issue, his next heir should inherit*. The same sovereign also decreed, that a peasant was capable of bearing arms as a soldier; and that therefore he ought to be considered as a freeman. But these and other regulations, by which that amiable monarch endeavoured to alleviate the miseries of the vassals, have

* Stat. Pol. I. p. 24.

proved

proved ineffectual against the power and tyranny of the nobles, and have been either abrogated or eluded. X That law, which gives the property of a peasant dying without issue to the next of kin, was instantly rendered nugatory by an old Polish maxim, "That no slave can carry on any process against his master;" and even the fine for his murder was seldom levied, on account of the numerous difficulties which attend the conviction of a noble for this or any other enormity. So far indeed from being inclined to soften the servitude of their vassals, the nobles have ascertained and established it by repeated and positive ordinances. An able Polish writer, in a benevolent treatise* addressed to the chancellor Zamoiski, observes, that in the statutes of Poland there are above an hundred laws unfavourable to the peasants, which, among other grievances, erect summary tribunals subject to no appeals; and impose the severest penalties upon those who quit their villages without leave. From these numerous and rigorous edicts to prevent the elopement of the peasants, the same humane author justly

* Patriotic Letters.

infers the extreme wretchedness of this oppressed class of men, who cannot be detained in the place of their nativity but by the terror of the severest punishment.

The native peasants may be divided into two sorts: 1. Peasants of the crown; 2. Peasants belonging to individuals. ✓

1. Peasants of the crown are those who are settled in the great fiefs of the kingdom, or in the royal demesnes; and are under the jurisdictions of the starosts. If the crown-peasants are oppressed by these judges, they may lodge a complaint in the royal courts of justice; and, should the starost endeavour to obstruct the process, the king can order the chancellor to issue a safe-conduct, by which he takes the injured person under his protection: and although in most cases the corrupt administration of justice, and the superior influence of the starosts, prevent a complainant from obtaining any effectual redress even in the king's courts; yet, the very possibility of procuring relief is some check to injustice, and some alleviation of distress.

2. Peasants belonging to individuals are at the absolute disposal of their master, and have scarcely any positive security, either for their

properties or their lives. Until 1768 the statutes of Poland only exacted a fine from a lord who killed his slave; but in that year a decree passed, by which the murder of a peasant was a capital crime; yet, as the law in question requires such an accumulation of evidence * as is seldom to be obtained, it has more the appearance of protection than the reality.

How deplorable must be the state of that country, when a law of such a nature was thought requisite to be enacted, yet is found incapable of being enforced! The generality, indeed, of the Polish nobles are not inclined either to establish or give efficacy to any regulations in favour of the peasants, whom they scarcely consider as entitled to the common rights of humanity †. A few nobles, however, of benevolent hearts and enlightened

* The murderer must be taken in the fact; which must be proved by two gentlemen or four peasants; and if he is not taken in the fact, and there are not the above-mentioned number of witnesses, he only pays a fine.

† Zamoiski, in his new code of laws, has warmly pleaded the cause of the peasants; but such are the national prejudices, that it is uncertain whether the diet will receive that code, and confirm its decrees, though formed upon the common and natural rights of mankind.

understandings, have acted upon different principles; and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has showed this project to be no less judicious than humane; no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of their peasants: for it appears that in the districts, in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages is considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion.

The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants was Zamoiski, formerly great chancellor, who in 1760 enfranchised six villages in the palatinate of Masovia. These villages were, in 1777, visited by the author of the Patriotic Letters, from whom I received the following information: On inspecting the parish-registers of births from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, he found the number of births 434; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 620; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 585 births.

By these extracts it appeared, that during the

First period there were only 43 births	} each year.
Second period - - - - - 62	
Third period - - - - - 77	

If we suppose an improvement of this sort to take place throughout the kingdom, how great would be the increase of national population !

The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In their state of vassalage Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peasants; and to furnish them with seed, horses, ploughs, and every implement of agriculture : since their attainment of liberty they are become so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves with all these necessaries at their own expence; and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent, in lieu of the manual labour, which their master formerly exacted from them. By these means the receipts of this particular estate have been nearly tripled.

Upon signing the deed of enfranchisement of the six villages, their benevolent master intimated

timated some apprehensions to the inhabitants, lest, encouraged by their freedom, they should fall into every species of licentiousness, and commit more disorders than when they were slaves. The simplicity and good sense of their answer is remarkable; "When we had no other property," returned they, "than the stick which we hold in our hands, we were destitute of all encouragement to a right conduct; and, having nothing to lose, acted on all occasions in an inconsiderate manner; but now that our houses, our lands, and our cattle, are our own, the fear of forfeiting them will be a constant restraint upon our actions." The sincerity of this assertion was manifested by the event. While they were in a state of servitude, Zamoiski was occasionally obliged to pay fines for disorders * committed by his peasants, who, in a state of drunkenness, would attack and sometimes kill passengers: since their freedom he has seldom received any complaints of this sort against them. These circumstances decisively confute the ill-grounded surmises entertained by many Poles, that their vassals are

* Called, in the Polish law, *Pro incontinentiâ subditorum*.

too licentious and ungovernable not to make an ill use of freedom. Zamoiski, pleased with the thriving state of the six villages, has enfranchised the peasants on all his estates.

The example of Zamoiski has been followed by Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the abbé Bryzotowski, with similar success. I was informed by a person who had visited the abbé's estate at Pawlowo near Vilna; that the happy countenance and comfortable air of these peasants made them appear a different race of men from the wretched tenants of the neighbouring villages. The peasants, penetrated with a sense of their master's kindness, have erected, at their own expence, a pillar with an inscription expressive of their gratitude and affection.

Prince Stanislaus, nephew to the king of Poland, has warmly patronized the plan of giving liberty to the peasants. His own good sense and natural humanity, improved during his residence in England by a view of that equal liberty which pervades every rank of men, have raised him above the prejudices too prevalent among his countrymen: he has enfranchised four villages not far from Warsaw, in which he has not only emancipated the

the peasants from their slavery, but even condescends to direct their affairs. I had the honour of holding several conversations with him upon this subject: he explained to me, in the most satisfactory manner, that the grant of freedom was no less advantageous to the lord than to the peasant, provided the former is willing to superintend their conduct for a few years, and to put them in a way of acting for themselves; for such is the ignorance of the generality among the boors, arising from their abject slavery, and so little have they been usually left to their own discretion, that few at first are equal to the proper management of a farm. From a conviction of these facts, the prince, whose knowledge and benevolence I shall ever revere, continues his attention to their concerns: he visits their cottages; suggests improvements in agriculture; instructs them in the mode of rearing cattle and bees; and points out the errors into which ignorance and incapacity occasionally betray them.

The example of this prince, great by his rank, but still greater by his humanity, can scarcely fail of producing its due effect; especially as he intends giving to the public a particular account of his arrangements and

regulations; and will show how much he has increased the value of his estate as well as the happiness of his peasants. Still the condition of these peasants is not permanent; for though a lord grants their freedom, yet he cannot entail it upon them, as his successor may again reduce them to their original state of vassalage. It is, however, in agitation to secure the perpetuity of their liberty, when they are once rendered free; but this measure is of so delicate a nature, that it must be introduced with great caution, and can only be the gradual work of time.

V. In giving an account of the different classes of men who inhabit this country, the Jews form too considerable a part of its present inhabitants not to be particularly mentioned. This people date their introduction into Poland about the time of Casimir the Great; and as they enjoy privileges which they scarcely possess in any other country excepting England and Holland, their numbers have surprizingly increased. Lengnich, whom I have often quoted, says of them, that they "monopolize * the commerce and trade of

* Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 128.

“ the country, keep the inns and taverns, are
“ stewards to the nobility ; and seem to have
“ so much influence, that nothing can be
“ bought or sold without the intervention of
“ a Jew.” Under John Sobieski they were
so highly favoured, that his administration
was invidiously called a Jewish junto : he
farmed to the Jews the royal demesnes ; and
put such confidence in them as raised great
discontents among the nobility. After his
death, an antient law of Sigismund I. was re-
vived, and inserted in the *Pacta Conventa* of
Augustus II. that no Jew or person of low
birth should be capable of farming the royal
revenues.

In some towns, as at Casimir, Posen, &c.
the Jews are permitted to settle, but in other
places they are only allowed to reside during
the time of fairs, or when the dietines are
assembled ; but the laws are seldom put in
force against them. I endeavoured to obtain
a probable account of their number ; but I
found this to be no easy matter, although all
Jews, as well male as female, pay an annual
poll-tax, and therefore must be registered.
According to the last capitation there were
166,871 Jews in Poland, exclusive of Li-
thuania, who paid that tax : but this cannot
be

be their full complement, as it is their interest to diminish their number; and it is a well-known fact, that they conceal their children as much as possible. Perhaps the following calculations will assist us in this research. Of 2,580,796 inhabitants in Austrian Poland, 144,200, or about an eighteenth, were Jews *. The eighteenth of the present population of Poland will give near 500,000: allowing, therefore, for omissions in the capitulation, as well as for those who migrated into Poland from the Russian dismembered province †, the number of Jews may fairly be estimated at 600,000.

Before the late partition, Poland contained about 14,000,000 of inhabitants ‡. As far

* See Compend. Geog. Slavoniæ, Gallicæ, &c. p. 66.

† Jews are not tolerated in Russia.

‡ Busching gives the following estimate of the population of Poland since the partition:

Males	—	—	—	4,396,969
Females	—	—	—	4,298,083
Ecclesiastics	{	Secular	18,369	— 31,137
		Regular	10,189	
		Nuns	2,579	
Jews	{	Males	300,612	— 601,479
		Females	300,867	

Total number of inhabitants 9,327,668

See Busching, His. Magazin. v. XVI. p. 28.

as I could collect from various conversations with several intelligent Poles, its present population amounts to 9,000,000.

It is not unworthy of observation, that while the feudal laws, formerly so universal, and of which some traces are still to be discovered in most countries, have been gradually abolished in other nations, and given place to a more regular and just administration; yet in Poland a variety of circumstances has concurred to prevent their abolition, and to preserve that mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, which so strongly characterized the feudal government. We may easily trace in this constitution all the striking features of that system. The principal are, an elective monarchy with a circumscribed power; the great officers of state possessing their charges for life, and independent of the king's authority; royal fiefs; the great nobility above controul; the nobles or gentry alone free and possessing lands; feudal tenures, military services, territorial jurisdiction; commerce degrading; oppressed condition of the burghers; vassalage of the peasants. In the course of this book I have had occasion to make mention of most of these evils as still existing in Poland, and they may be considered

considered as the radical causes of its decline ; for they have prevented the Poles from adopting those more stable regulations, which tend to introduce order and good government, to augment commerce, and to increase population.

T R A V E L S

I N T O

P O L A N D.

B O O K II.

T R A V E L

P O L A N D

B O O K

CHAP. I.

Entrance into Austrian Poland.—Limits of the dismembered province.—Its population and productions.—Arrival at Cracow.—Description of that city.—University.—Palace.—Citadel occupied by the confederates in the late troubles.—History of that transaction.—Cathedral.—Tombs and characters of several Polish sovereigns, &c.

JULY 24, 1778. We entered Poland just beyond Biltiz, having crossed the rivulet Biala, which falls into the Vistula; and pursued our journey to Cracow through the territories which the house of Austria secured to itself in the late partition.

The district, claimed by the empress of Germany in her manifesto, is thus described:
“ All that tract of land lying on the right
“ side of the Vistula from Silesia above San-
“ domir to the mouth of the San, and from
“ thence

“ thence by Franepole, Zamoisc, and Ru-
 “ bieflow, to the Bog. From the Bog the
 “ limits are carried along the frontiers of
 “ Red Ruffia to Zabras upon the borders
 “ of Volhynia and Podolia; and from Zabras
 “ in a straight line to the Dnieper, where it
 “ receives the rivulet Podhorts, taking in a
 “ small slip of Podolia; and lastly, along
 “ the boundaries separating Podolia from
 “ Moldavia.”

A remarkable circumstance attended the
 taking possession of this district, which will
 shew with what uncertainty the limits were
 at first traced. The partition being made
 according to the map of Zannoni, the river
 Podhorts was taken as the eastern boundary
 of this dismembered province: but when the
 Austrian commissioners visited the spot, where,
 according to Zannoni, the Podhorts flowed
 into the Dnieper, they found no river known
 to the inhabitants which answered to that
 name. They advanced, therefore, the fron-
 tiers still more eastwards; and adopting the
 Sebrawce or the Sbrytz for the boundary,
 called it the Podhorts. This ceded country
 has, since the partition, changed its name;
 and is now incorporated into the Austrian do-
 minions under the appellation of the king-
 doms

doms of Galicia and Lodomeria; which kingdoms some antient diplomes represent as situated in Poland, and subject to the kings of Hungary: but the most convincing proof that there ever existed such kingdoms, that they depended upon Hungary, and ought by virtue of an hereditary, though dormant title, to revert to the empress as sovereign of Hungary, was derived from the Austrian army; for what people can resist an argument backed by 200,000 troops, unless they can defend their side of the question by an equal number?

The importance of this acquisition to the house of Austria will best appear from the number of inhabitants, which, according to the numeration made in 1776 *, amounted to 2,580,796. The mountainous parts of Galicia and Lodomeria produce fine pasture; the plains are mostly sandy, but abound in forests, and are fertile in corn. The principal articles of traffic are cattle, hides, wax, and honey. These countries contain mines of copper, lead, iron, and salt, of which the latter are the most valuable.

* Comp. Regn. Slavoniæ, Galiciæ, Lodomeriæ, &c. p. 66, note m.

We crossed only a narrow slip of Austrian Poland of about 86 miles in length from Bilitz to Cracow, leaving on our right hand a chain of mount Crapak, or the antient Carpathian mountains. The country we passed through was at first somewhat hilly, but afterwards chiefly plain, covered with forests. The roads were bad, the villages few and wretched beyond description; the hovels, all built of wood, seemed full of filth and misery, and every thing wore the appearance of extreme poverty.

July 25. About noon we arrived at the Vistula, the limits of the Austrian dominions, which reach to its southern banks. According to the partition treaty, this river was marked as forming the limits between the Austrian and Polish territories: the house of Austria at first construed the Vistula to mean the old channel of that river now dry, called the Old Vistula; and by force of this strained interpretation included Casimir in the dismembered province; but not long afterwards the empress of Germany restored Casimir to the Poles; and accepted the Vistula as it now flows, for the boundary of her dominions.

Having

Having entered Casimir by crossing the Vistula over a bridge, at one end of which was an Austrian soldier, and at the other a Polish centinel, we passed the above-mentioned dry channel, termed the Old Vistula, by a second bridge, and arrived at Cracow.

Cracow is a curious old town: it was formerly the capital of Poland, where the kings were elected and crowned, and was once almost the center of the Polish dominions, but is now a frontier town; a proof how much the territories of this republic have been contracted!

Cracow stands in an extensive plain, watered by the Vistula, which is broad but shallow: the city and its suburbs occupy a vast tract of ground, but are so thinly peopled, that they scarcely contain 16,000 * inhabitants. The great square in the middle of the town is very spacious; and has several well-built houses, one richly furnished and well inhabited, but most of them now either untenanted, or in a state of melancholy decay. Many of the streets are broad and handsome; but almost every building bears the most

* The city, exclusive of the suburbs, contained in 1778 only 8894 souls.

striking marks of ruined grandeur: the churches alone seem to have preserved their original splendour. The devastation of this unfortunate town was begun by the Swedes at the commencement of the present century, when it was besieged and taken by Charles XII.; but the mischiefs it suffered from that ravager of the North, were far less destructive than those it experienced during the late dreadful commotions, when it underwent repeated sieges, and was alternately in possession of the Russians and Confederates. The effects of cannon, grape, and musket-shot are still discernible on the walls and houses. In a word, Cracow exhibits the remains of a magnificent capital in ruins: from the number of fallen and falling houses one would imagine it had lately been sacked, and that the enemy had left it only yesterday. The town is surrounded with high walls of brick, strengthened by round and square towers of whimsical shapes in the antient style of fortification: these walls were built by Venceslaus * king of Bohemia, during the short period in which he reigned over Poland.

* Cracoviam muro circumdedit. Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 20.

In Cracow we found a Russian garrison of 600 men, who were stationed at the guard-house in the center of the town: at all the gates a Russian centinel stood on one side, and a Polish centinel on the other. The citadel was entirely occupied by Russian troops.

The university was founded and endowed by Casimir the Great, and improved and completed by Ladislaus Jaghellon: the number of students amounted to about 600: the library was not remarkable either for the number or rarity of its books. Among the principal objects of attention, the librarian pointed out a Turkish book, of no intrinsic value; but esteemed a curiosity because found among the spoils at the battle of Chotzim, and presented by John Sobieski to the university, as the memorial of a victory which saved his country from desolation, and raised him to the throne of Poland. This university was formerly, and not unjustly, called the mother of Polish literature, as it principally supplied the other seminaries with professors and men of learning; but its lustre has been greatly obscured by the removal of the royal residence to Warsaw, and still more by the late intestine convulsions.

In this city the art of printing was first introduced into Poland by Haller; and one of the earliest books that issued from his press, was the constitutions and statutes compiled by Casimir the Great, and afterwards augmented by his successors. The characters are Gothic, the same which were universally used at the invention of printing: the great initial letters are wanting, which shews that they were probably painted and afterwards worn away. The year in which this compilation was printed is not positively known; but its publication was certainly anterior to 1496, as it does not contain the statutes passed by John Albert in that year.

The most flourishing period of the university was under Sigismund Augustus in the sixteenth century; when several of the German reformers fled from the persecutions of the emperor Charles V. and found an asylum in this city. They gave to the world several versions of the sacred writings, and other theological publications, which diffused the reformed religion over great part of Poland. The protection which Sigismund Augustus afforded to men of learning of all denominations, and the universal toleration which he extended

extended to every sect of Christians, created a suspicion that he was secretly inclined to the new church; and it was even reported that he intended to renounce the catholic faith, and publicly profess the reformed religion*.

Towards the southern part of the town near the Vistula rises a small eminence or rock, upon whose top is built the palace, surrounded with brick walls and old towers, which form a kind of citadel to the town. This palace owes its origin to Ladislaus Jaghellon; but little of the antient structure now appears, as the greatest part was demolished by Charles XII. in 1702, when he entered this town in triumph after the battle of Cliflow. It has been since repaired: the remains of the old palace consist of a few apartments, which are left in their antient state as they existed in the last century. The walls of the first of these apartments are decorated with paintings of tilts and tournaments; those of the second with a representation of the coronation of a king of Poland, affirmed, by the person who shewed the palace, to be that of Ladislaus the First, and to have been drawn in his time; but the style of the painting be-

* See p. 24.

speaks it of a more modern date. The cieling of the third apartment is divided into different compartments, ornamented with carved heads of extraordinary shapes and grotesque appearances. All the rooms in the palace are of fine dimensions, and exhibit several remains of antient magnificence, but are totally without furniture.

This palace was formerly the residence of the kings of Poland, who, from the time of Ladislaus Loketec, have been crowned at Cracow. The Polish and German historians differ concerning the time when the title of king was first claimed by the sovereigns of this country; but the most probable account is, that in 1295 Premislaus assumed the regal title, and was inaugurated at Gnesna by the archbishop of that diocese. He was succeeded by Ladislaus Loketec, who, offending the Poles by his capricious and tyrannical conduct, was deposed before he was crowned; and Venceslaus king of Bohemia, who had married Richsa daughter of Premislaus, being elected in his stead, was in 1300 consecrated at Gnesna. Ladislaus, after flying from his country, and undergoing a series of calamitous adventures, was at length brought to a sense of his misconduct. Having re-
gained

gained the affection of his subjects, he was restored, in the life-time of Venceslaus, to part of his dominions; and he recovered them all upon the demise of that monarch in the year 1305: he governed, however, for some years without the title of king; but at length in 1320 was crowned at Cracow, to which place he transferred the ceremony of the coronation; and afterwards enacted, that for the future his successors should be inaugurated in the cathedral of this city*.

Since that period, the laws of Poland have expressly enjoined that Cracow should be the place of coronation; and such has been the superstitious attachment of the Poles to this usage, that when John Sobieski was desirous of being crowned at Leopold, on account of its vicinity to the army, which he was to command against the Turks at the time of his election, the Polish patriots strongly opposed any innovation†; and that monarch was under the necessity of repairing to Cracow for the performance of the ceremony.

Since Ladislaus, all the succeeding sove-

* Dlugoffius, lib. IX. p. 971. Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 19—22.

† Lengnich, Jus Publicum.

reigns have been consecrated at Cracow *, excepting the present king. Previous to his election a decree was issued by the diet of convocation, that the coronation should be solemnized for this turn at Warsaw, without prejudice in future to the antient right of Cracow ; a proviso calculated to satisfy the populace, but which will not probably prevent any future sovereign from being crowned at Warsaw, now become the capital of Poland, and the residence of its kings. The diadem and other regalia used at the coronation are still kept in the palace of Cracow, under so many keys, and with such care, that it was impossible to obtain a sight of them.

The apartments of the palace command an extensive view of the neighbouring country, which is principally a large sandy plain. We observed particularly two very large mounds of earth, or barrows, one of which is by tradition called the burial-place of Cracus duke of Poland, who is supposed to have built the town of Cracow in the year

* I do not mention Stanislaus Letzinski, who was crowned at Warsaw, because he was only a temporary sovereign, and was soon obliged to retire from Poland.

700; the other is called the sepulchre of his daughter Venda, who is reported to have drowned herself in the Vistula, that she might not be compelled to marry a person for whom she had entertained an aversion. The whole history of Cracus and Venda is involved in impenetrable darkness, and these barrows, which are common in different parts of Europe, were probably anterior to the Christian æra. The practice of raising barrows over the bodies of the deceased was almost universal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans; Virgil alludes to it as usual in Italy in the times treated of in the *Æneid*; Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Persians; the Roman historians record that the same mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no less among the antient Germans, and many other uncivilized nations. In general, popular tradition allows some favourite characters in national history, like Cracus and Venda, to usurp the honour of being buried under the most conspicuous of these monuments.

At some distance from Cracow, we noticed the fortress of Landskron situated upon a rock,
which

which the confederates possessed during the late troubles ; and from whence they made excursions as occasion offered against the Russian and Polish troops in the service of the king. By a detachment of troops from this fortress, the citadel of Cracow was taken by surprize ; a gallant exploit, and which merits a particular relation. The person who shewed us the palace was himself present, when the Polish troops issued from a subterraneous passage, and surprized the Russian garrison, consisting of 87 troops. About four in the morning a party of 76 confederates, all of whom were Poles, led by a lieutenant*,

* In most of the accounts published of this transaction, it is said that the confederates were led by a French officer, and that there were several Frenchmen amongst them. I have related simply the account which I received from the steward of the palace, who repeatedly assured me, that there was not one Frenchman amongst them ; that they were led by a Polish lieutenant, whose name was Bytrawski. The steward was himself present at the transaction, and as he was no soldier, was not confined with the garrison in the dungeon ; he had, therefore, every opportunity of being informed of the truth : at the same time it is possible, that his partiality to his countrymen might have induced him to give the whole honour to the Poles. Monsieur Viosmenil is the French officer, generally mentioned as leading this enterprising band of confederates through the subterraneous passage.

whose

whose name was Bytranowski, entered the palace through a common sewer, without being discovered, and repairing to the main guard instantly fell upon the Russians: the latter were so confounded with the suddenness of the assault, that they all yielded themselves prisoners without the least resistance; and the Poles became masters of the citadel. Two or three Russians were killed at the first onset, and the remainder were confined in a dungeon. One soldier, however, found means to escape by climbing the wall of the citadel; and alarmed the Russian soldiers within the town: these without delay attacked the castle, but, receiving a warm fire from the confederates, they imagined the enemy to be more numerous than they really were, and desisted from the assault. This event happened on the 2d of February, 1772. The same evening Monsieur de Choisy, in the service of the confederates of Landskron, being made acquainted with the success of the enterprize, advanced towards Cracow at the head of 800 confederates (amongst whom were 30 or 40 Frenchmen, most of them officers), and, having defeated a detachment of 200 Russians, was received into the citadel. But the

§

Russian

Russian garrison in the town, which before consisted of only 400 men, being likewise reinforced, the confederates in the citadel sustained a regular siege: they defended themselves with the most undaunted spirit for the space of three months; and at length capitulated upon the most honourable terms.

I examined the subterraneous passage through which the 76 confederates introduced themselves into the palace: it is a drain, which conveys all the filth, from the interior part of the palace, to a small opening without the walls near the Vistula. They entered this small opening, and crawled upon their hands and knees a considerable way, one behind another, until they came out through a hole in the walls of the palace: so that if the Russians had either been apprized of their attempt, or had over-heard them in their passage, not one person could have escaped: the danger was great, but it shews what spirit and perseverance will effect.

Having viewed the palace, we visited the adjoining cathedral, which stands within the walls of the citadel. In this cathedral*,

* Lengnich, Jus Publ.

all the sovereigns, from the time of Ladislaus Loketec, have been interred, a few only excepted, viz. Louis and Ladislaus III. who were kings of Hungary as well as of Poland, and whose bodies were deposited in Hungary; Alexander, who died and was buried at Vilna; Henry of Valois, interred in France; and the late monarch Augustus III. The laws of Poland are as express and minute in regulating the burial as the election and coronation of the kings; and, as many curious circumstances attend their interment, I shall take this opportunity of laying the ceremony before the reader. x

Since Warsaw has become the royal residence, and the place for the election of the kings of Poland, the body of the deceased prince must be carried first to that city; where it remains until the nomination of the new sovereign has taken place. It is then conducted in great state to Cracow; and, two days before the day appointed for the ceremony of the coronation, the king elect, preceded by the great officers of state, with their rods of office pointing to the ground, joins the funeral procession as it passes through the streets, and follows the body to the church of St. Stanislaus, where the burial service is performed:

performed: the remains are then deposited in the cathedral adjoining to the palace. It is peculiar to the laws of Poland, that the funeral of the deceased monarch should immediately precede the coronation of the new sovereign; and that the king elect should be under a necessity of attending the obsequies of his predecessor. Historians have sagely remarked, that this singular custom was instituted, in order to impress the new king with the uncertainty of human grandeur; and to remind him of his duty, by mixing the horrors of death with the pomp and dignity of his new station: yet we cannot but observe, that this precaution has not hitherto been productive of any visible effects; as it does not appear that the kings of Poland have governed with greater wisdom and justice than other potentates. But it is most probable, that this custom took its rise from the habits of exterior homage, which the Poles affect to pay to their sovereign in compensation for the substantial dignity which they withhold from him: this spirit of mock-reverence they extend beyond the grave; and while they scarcely allow to the reigning king the shadow of real authority, they heap upon

upon a deceased monarch every possible trapping of imperial honour.

The sepulchres of the kings of Poland are not distinguished by any peculiar magnificence: their figures are carved in marble of no extraordinary workmanship, and some are without inscriptions.

I felt a strong sentiment of veneration at approaching the ashes of Casimir the Great, whom I consider as one of the greatest princes that ever adorned a throne. It was not, however, the brilliancy and magnificence of his reign, his warlike achievements, nor even his patronage of the arts and sciences; but his legislative abilities, and his wonderful beneficence to the inferior class of his subjects, that inspired me with a reverence for his character.

Casimir was born in 1310; and in 1333 ascended the throne of Poland, upon the demise of his father Ladislaus Loketec. The Polish historians dwell with singular complacency upon his reign, as the most glorious and happy period of their history; and record with peculiar pleasure the virtues and abilities of this great and amiable monarch: nor are their praises the echoes of flattery, for they were mostly written subsequent to

his death, when another family was seated upon the throne. In perusing the reign of Casimir, we can hardly believe that we are reading the history of the sovereign of a barbarous people in the beginning of the fourteenth century: it seems as if, by the ascendancy of his superior genius, he had anticipated the knowledge and improvements of the succeeding and more enlightened periods.

From the moment of his accession his first care was to secure his kingdom against foreign enemies: with this view he attacked the knights of the Teutonic order, with whom Poland had long been in an almost continual state of warfare, and obliged them to purchase a peace by the cession of Culm and Cujavia, which they had wrested from his father: he then reduced Red Russia; and annexed the duchy of Masovia to the dominions of Poland. By these acquisitions he not only extended the frontiers of his empire, but rendered his dominions less liable to sudden invasions. But these great successes were not able to excite in his breast the fatal spirit of military enterprize; he always considered war as a matter of necessity, not of choice, and as the means of safety rather than of glory.

glory *. Having secured his frontiers, as well by his victories as by treaties with the neighbouring powers, he turned his whole attention to the interior administration of his kingdom; he built several towns, enlarged and beautified others: so that Dlugoffius †, who wrote in the following century, says of him, "Poland is indebted to Casimir for the greatest part of her churches, palaces, fortresses and towns;" adding in allusion to a similar character given of Augustus Cæsar, "that he found Poland of wood, and left her of marble." He patronized letters; founded the academy of Cracow; promoted industry; and encouraged trade; elegant in his manners, and magnificent in his court, he was

* *Mitis ingenio, et quietis quam armorum appetentior.*
Florus Pol. p. 116.

† *Tantus enim illi ad magnificandum, locupletandum-
que Regnum Poloniæ inerat amor, ut gravissimos &
notabiles sumptus in erigendis ex muro ecclesiis, castris,
civitatibus, & curiis, faciendo ad id omnem sollicitudinem
curamque intenderit, ut Poloniam, quam luteam, ligneam,
& squalidam repererat, lateritiam, gloriosam, & inclytam,
sicut evenit, reliquerit. Nam quicquid Polonia in castris,
ecclesiis, civitatibus, curiis, & domibus murorum continet,
id pro majori parte ab ipso Casimiro rege, & suis regiis
sumptibus est perfectum.* Lib. IX. p. 1164.

œconomical without meanness, and liberal without prodigality.

He was the great legislator of Poland: finding his country without any written laws, he reviewed all the usages and customs; and digested them, with some additions, into a regular code, which he ordered to be published. He simplified and improved the courts of justice; he was easy * of access to the meanest as well as the highest of his subjects, and solicitous to relieve the peasants from the oppressions of the nobility: such indeed was the tenderness he shewed to that injured class of men, and so many were the privileges which he conferred upon them, that the nobles used to call him out of derision *Rex Rusticorum*, the king of the peasants; perhaps the most noble appellation that ever was bestowed upon a sovereign, and far to be preferred to the titles of magnificent and great, which have been so often lavished rather upon the persecutors than the benefactors of mankind. Human nature is never

* Adeuntibus facilis, querimonias etiam infimorum audit, &c. Sarmiski. Cuilibet conditioni, generi, atque ætati facilis ad eum patebat accessus. Dlugoffius.

perfect;

perfect; Casimir was not without his failings: voluptuous and sensual, he pushed the pleasures of the table to intemperance; and his inordinate passion for women led him into some actions, inconsistent with the general tenor of honour and integrity which distinguishes his character. But these defects influenced chiefly his private, not his public deportment; or, to use the expression of a Polish historian, his private failings were redeemed by his public virtues*: and it is allowed by all, that no sovereign more consulted the happiness of his subjects, or was more beloved at home and respected abroad. After a long reign of 40 years he was thrown from his horse as he was hunting; and died after a short illness in the 60th year of his age, carrying with him to the grave the regret of his subjects, and a claim to the veneration of posterity. He is described (for the figure of so amiable a character cannot fail to be interesting) as tall in his person, and inclined to corpulency, with a majestic aspect, thick and curling hair, long beard, and a strong voice somewhat lisping †.

Next

* Redimens vitia virtutibus. Dlugoffius.

† Vir staturâ elevatâ, corpore crasso, fronte venerabili,

Next to the remains of Casimir repose the ashes of Ladislaus * II. known by the appellation of Jaghellon, the father of a race of kings called from him the Jaghellon line. This sovereign was originally duke of Lithuania, and, together with his subjects, a worshipper of idols; but having embraced Christianity, and espoused Hedwige second daughter of Louis, he obtained the throne of Poland. This event happened in 1386, in which year he was publicly baptized, married, and crowned at Cracow, and assumed a new baptismal name of Ladislaus II.: he died in 1434 in a very advanced age, in the 50th year of a long and glorious reign.

Among his posterity, whose bodies are deposited in this cathedral; the most memorable is Sigismund I. a great and able monarch, the protector of the arts and sci-

crine circino et abundante, barbâ promissâ, voce aliquantum balbâ sed sonorâ.

Decessit Casimirus a. 1370, says Lengnich, cui Polonia leges, judicia, cultum, plurimas civitates, arces, et alia edificia, debet. Hist. Pol. p. 25.

* He is sometimes called Ladislaus IV. and sometimes Ladislaus V.; but reckoning from the time the sovereigns of Poland assumed the regal authority, he ought to be called Ladislaus II. *Ladislaus inter Poloniæ reges illius nominis secundus. Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 31.*

ences,

ences, which made no inconsiderable figure under his auspices. He is represented, however, as not sufficiently watchful over the royal prerogative*; and as yielding too easily to the encroachments of the nobility, to the injury of succeeding monarchs, and the detriment of the republic. But these compliances admit of great palliation; when we reflect, that the nobles, to whom they were made, had raised him to the throne, and were become nearly uncontrollable by the concessions of his immediate predecessors.

As I viewed the tomb of Sigismund Augustus, son of the last-mentioned monarch; I recollected, not without a mixture of regret and sympathy for this unhappy country, that in him terminated that hereditary influence, which had given tranquillity during a long succession of sovereigns to the diets of election; and that upon his death all those troubles and confusions, which are inseparable from a crown wholly elective, broke in upon the kingdom. From this period the cabals

* Ab hoc potissimum rege nimis indulgente, licentia nobilitatis incrementa contra jura majestatis, cum injuria succedentium regum, et reipub. decremento, sumere et prævalere cœpit, ut sapientes, &c. De Script. Pol. &c.

and convulsions, continually recurring at every choice of a new sovereign, rapidly impaired the strength of the state, and the dignity of the throne. The Poles gradually lost their consequence among foreign powers; and the authority of succeeding kings depended more on their own personal abilities, and accidental circumstances, than on any permanent principle of vigour inherent in the crown, which has been nearly stripped of all its prerogatives.

The first of the new succession, whose remains are interred in this church, is Stephen Bathori, prince of Transylvania, elected in 1576, upon the abdication of Henry of Valois: he owed his elevation to his marriage with Anne daughter of Sigismund I.; a princess who, being in the 52d year of her age, was not endowed with any winning attractions, if she had not brought a kingdom for her portion. The epitaph upon his tomb justly ascribes to Stephen a long catalogue of civil and military virtues.

I came next to the sepulchre of his successor Sigismund III. son of John III. king of Sweden, and of Catherine daughter of Sigismund I.: elected king of Poland in 1587, he revived in his person, on the female side, the

the race of the Jaghellon family. He was raised to the throne of this country while he was prince royal of Sweden; and, upon the death of his father in 1592, possessed both crowns; but he gradually lost all authority in Sweden, and was at length formally deposed by the states of that kingdom. He owed his expulsion from Sweden to his partiality for Poland, to his bigoted zeal for the catholic religion, and above all to the superior genius of his uncle and rival Charles IX. He expired in the 46th year of his reign, and in the 67th of his age.

Near the body of Sigismund lie those of his two sons; the eldest, named Ladislaus IV. elected king of Poland upon the demise of his father, supported the dignity of his crown with reputation and honour; the second, John Casimir, was a prince, whose character and adventures are too singular to be passed over without particular notice.

John Casimir, son of Sigismund III. by a second wife Anne, sister of the emperor Ferdinand II. was educated in his father's court, upon whose death his mother endeavoured, but without effect, to procure his election to the throne, in opposition to his elder brother Ladislaus IV. Repulsed from the throne,
he

he contracted a disgust to Poland, and undertook a journey to Spain with a view of offering his services to his cousin Philip IV. then at war with France. Passing through Austria and Trent into Italy, he embarked at Genoa, in a vessel bound for Spain; but, prompted by curiosity, he ventured to land incognito at Marseilles: being discovered, he was arrested by order of the court of France, and, on account of his connection with the house of Austria, closely imprisoned for the space of two years*. Being at length released, at the intercession of his brother the king of Poland, he repaired to Rome, and there, either out of devotion or caprice, entered into the order of the Jesuits. Afterwards, grown weary of his function, he quitted that order, and was promoted to the rank of cardinal. Upon the death of his brother Ladislaus IV. being absolved from his vows by the pope, he was elected king of Poland; and, having obtained a dispensation, married his brother's widow, Louisa Maria daughter of the duke of Nevers, a woman of great beauty and still greater spirit, who blended devotion with a strong propensity to political

* Florus Polon. p. 437, & seq.

intrigues:

intrigues: the soul of her husband's councils, she may be said to have reigned over Poland, while he was only nominal king. Such was her ascendancy, that she prevailed upon him to solicit the nomination of the duke of En-guien, son of the great Condé, for his successor; a measure so contradictory to the first principles of the Polish constitution, as well as to his coronation oath, excited a general discontent, and threw the kingdom into the most violent commotions.

The reign of John Casimir was active and turbulent, memorable for the revolt of the Cossacs of the Ukraine, for the unsuccessful wars with Sweden, and for the insurrections of the nobility. Though, so far from being deficient in military courage, that in every desperate emergency he always commanded his troops in person; though, to use his own expression, "he was the first to attack, "and the last to retreat*;" yet as he preferred peace to war, and wanted the enterprising spirit of his brother Ladislaus IV. he was accused by the Poles of indolence and pusillanimity. His political sagacity ap-

* "Eum me esse, qui primus in præliis, postremus in discrimine et recessu." *Zaluski Ep. vol. I. p. 57.*

appears from his predictions; that Poland, enfeebled by the anarchy of its government, and the licentiousness of the nobles, would necessarily be dismembered by the neighbouring powers. Worn out at length with the cares of royalty, shocked at the distressed state of the kingdom, discontented with the factions of the nobility, afflicted at the death of his wife, and impelled by the versatility of his disposition, he abdicated the throne in the 20th year of his reign, and in the 68th of his age. This extraordinary event took place on the 27th of August, in the year 1668, before a general diet assembled at Warsaw: the scene was affecting; the conduct of the king manly and resolute; and his speech upon that event is the finest piece of pathetic eloquence recorded * in history.

Soon after his abdication he retired into France, and again embraced the ecclesiastical profession. Louis XIV. who prided himself in affording an asylum to abdicated sovereigns, gave him the abbey of St. Germain, and St. Martin, without which he would have had no means of subsistence, as Poland soon withheld his pension; a proof that the

* See Zalufki Epist. v. I. p. 57.

tears which were shed at his abdication were not sincere. Notwithstanding his ecclesiastical engagements, John Casimir could not withstand the attractions of Marie Mignot, a woman, who, from being a laundress, had been married first to a counsellor of Grenoble, and afterwards to the marshal de L'Hospital. She was a widow when she attracted the notice of the abdicated king, and so powerful was the impression he received, that it was suspected he was secretly married to her. Casimir is represented, by those who knew him in his retirement, as easy and familiar in his conversation, and displeased with receiving any honours or titles due to his former rank *. He survived his abdication only four years, and died at Nevers on the 16th of December, 1672. His body was brought to this city, and buried in the cathedral at the same time with that of his successor Michael, the day before the coronation of John Sobieski.

Upon approaching the remains of John Sobieski, I recollected that when Charles XII. of Sweden entered Cracow he visited these tombs, in order to pay a mark of respect to

* Vie de Sobieski, I. p. 135.

the memory of that great monarch: he is reported, as he hung with reverence over his sepulchre, to have cried out, "What a pity that so great a man should ever die!" May we not also exclaim, what a pity that a person, so impressed with a sense of Sobieski's virtues, should adopt only the military part of his character for the object of his imitation! How infinitely inferior is the Swedish to the Polish sovereign! The former, dead to all the finer feelings of humanity, was awake only to the calls of ambition; every other sentiment being lost in the ardour for military honours. If personal courage be sufficient to constitute a hero, he possessed that quality in an eminent degree; but it was rather the bravery of a common soldier than of a general. Sobieski, even in that view of his character, has an equal title to fame; for his valour was no less distinguished; and in one respect was superior, as it was not clouded with rashness, but tempered with prudence. Though the first general of his age, he placed not his sole ambition in military glory; he was great in peace as well as in war: by the union of talents belonging to each department, he defended his country from impending danger, raised her from her falling

falling state, and delayed during his reign the æra of her decline; while Charles, who was deficient in civil virtues, plunged Sweden, which he found highly prosperous, into ruin and desolation. In a word, Charles had the enthusiasm of a knight-errant, and Sobieski the virtues of an hero*.

About an English mile from Cracow are the remains of an old structure, called the palace of Casimir the Great, which my veneration for that sovereign induced me to visit, as there is a singular pleasure arising from seeing the spot that was once dignified by the residence of an admired character. Little, I imagine, of the original palace, as it was built by Casimir, exists at present. In the inner court are the remains of a corridore with pillars of the Doric order; and upon one of the side walls I observed the white-eagle of Poland carved in stone, and around it an inscription seemingly in old Gothic characters, of which I could only make out Ann. Dom. M.CCCLXVII, which answers to the æra of Casimir, who died in 1370. Several marble columns were scattered

* See an account of Sobieski's death and family, Chap. IV. of this book.

around,

around, which shewed the antient magnificence of the building. The greatest part of the fabrick was evidently of later date than the reign of Casimir, and was probably constructed by succeeding sovereigns upon the foundation of the antient palace; perhaps by Stephen Bathori, as I could trace in one place an inscription, *Stephanus Dei gratia*; and also by Sigismund III. as I discovered his cypher with the wheat-sheaf, the arms of Gustavus Vasa, from whom he was lineally descended.

This palace was the principal residence of Casimir: in the garden is a mound of earth, or one of those barrows before mentioned, which is called the tomb of Esther the fair Jewess, who was the favourite mistress of that monarch. To the influence of Esther it is said the Jews owe the numerous privileges enjoyed by them in Poland, which is called the Paradise of the Jews. But when the character of Casimir is considered, it will appear probable, that they were indebted for their favourable reception in Poland more to his policy than to his affection for his mistress; for in those times the Jews were the richest and most commercial individuals in Europe: by allowing them, therefore, to settle in Poland; and by granting them some extraordinary

extraordinary immunities, he introduced trade and much wealth into his dominions. The number of Jews is now prodigious *, and they have in a manner engrossed all the commerce of the country; yet this flourishing state of their affairs must not be attributed solely to the edicts of Casimir in their favour, but to the industry of those extraordinary people, to the indolence of the gentry, and the oppressed condition of the peasants.

* See p. 154.

CHAP. II.

Mode of saluting and dress of the Poles.—

Account of the salt-mines of Wielitska.—

Their extent and profit.—Journey to Warsaw.

THE Poles seem a lively people, and use much action in their ordinary conversation. Their common mode of saluting is to incline their heads, and to strike their breast with one of their hands, while they stretch the other towards the ground; but when a common person meets a superior, he bows his head almost to the earth, waving at the same time his hand, with which he touches the bottom of the leg near the heel of the person to whom he pays his obeisance. The men of all ranks generally wear whiskers; and shave their heads, leaving only a circle of hair upon the crown. The summer dress of the peasants consists of nothing but a shirt and drawers of coarse linen, without shoes or stockings, with round caps or hats. The women of the lower class wear upon their heads a wrapper of white linen,



A POLISH GENTLEMAN.

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BIBLIOTHECA
VNIV. IAGELL,
CRACOVIENSIS.



linen, under which their hair is braided, and hangs down in two plaits. I observed several of them with a long piece of white linen hanging round the side of their faces, and covering their bodies below their knees: this singular kind of veil makes them look as if they were doing penance.

The dress of the higher orders, both men and women, is uncommonly elegant. That of the gentlemen is a waistcoat with sleeves, over which they wear an upper robe of a different colour, which reaches down below the knee, and is fastened round the waist with a sash or girdle; the sleeves of this upper garment are in warm weather tied behind the shoulders: a sabre is a necessary part of their dress as a mark of nobility. In summer, the robe, &c. is of silk; in winter, of cloth, velvet, or stuff, edged with fur. They wear fur-caps or bonnets, and buskins of yellow leather, the heels of which are plated with iron or steel. The dress of the ladies is a simple polonaise, or long robe, edged with fur.

The Poles, in their features, look, customs, dress, and general appearance, resemble Asiatics rather than Europeans; and

they are unquestionably descended from Tartar ancestors. A German historian*, well versed in the antiquity of nations, remarks, that the manner in which the Poles wear their hair is, perhaps, one of the most ancient tokens of their origin. So early as the fifth century some nations, who were comprehended under the name of Scythians, had the same custom. For Priscus Rhætor, who accompanied Maximus in his embassy from Theodosius II. to the court of Attila, describes a Scythian lord, whose head was shaved in a circular form †, a mode perfectly similar to the present fashion in Poland.

Before we quitted this part of Poland, we visited the celebrated salt-mines of Wielitska, which are situated within eight miles of Cracow. These mines are excavated in a ridge of hills at the Northern extremity of the chain which joins to the Carpathian mountains: they take their appellation from the small village of Wielitska: but are sometimes called in foreign countries the mines of Cracow, from their vicinity to that city.

* Mascow.

† Capite in rotundum rasō.

Upon our arrival at Wielitka we repaired to the mouth of the mine *. Having fastened three separate hammocks in a circle round the great rope that is employed in drawing up the salt, we seated ourselves in a commodious manner: and were let down gently, without the least apprehension of danger, about 160 yards below the first layer of salt. Quitting our hammocks, we passed a long and gradual descent, sometimes through broad passages or galleries capable of admitting several carriages abreast; sometimes down steps cut in the solid salt, which had the grandeur and commodiousness of the stair-case in a palace. We each of us carried a light, and several guides preceded us with lamps in their hands: the reflection of these lights upon the glittering sides of the mine was extremely beautiful, but did not cast that luminous splendour, which some writers have compared to the lustre of precious stones.

The salt dug from this mine is called *Ziebna* or Green Salt, for what reason I cannot determine; its colour is an iron grey; when pounded it has a dirty ash colour like

* There are two other openings, down one of which the miners descend by stairs, down the other by ladders.

what we call brown salt. The quality improves in proportion to the depth of the mine: towards the sides and surface it is mixed with earthy or stony particles; lower down it is said to be perfectly pure, and requires no other process before it is used than to be pounded. The finest of this grey salt, however, is of a weak quality when compared with our common sea-salt: it is therefore undoubtedly by no means perfectly pure, but is blended with extraneous mixtures, though it serves very well for common purposes. Being almost as hard as stone, the miners hew it with pick-axes and hatchets, by a tedious operation, into large blocks, many of which weigh six or seven hundred pounds. These large masses are raised by a windlass, but the smaller pieces are carried up by horses along a winding gallery, which reaches to the surface of the earth.

Beside the grey species, the miners sometimes discover small cubes of white salt, as transparent as chrysal, but not in any considerable quantity; they find likewise occasionally pieces of coal and petrified wood buried in the salt.

The mine appears to be inexhaustible, as will easily be conceived from the following
account

account of its dimensions. Its known breadth is 1115 feet; its length 6691 feet; and depth 743; and the best judges on the spot suppose, with the greatest appearance of probability, this solid body of salt to branch into various directions, the extent of which cannot be known: of that part which has been perforated, the depth is only calculated as far as they have hitherto dug; and who can ascertain how much farther it may descend?

Our guide did not omit pointing out to us, what he considered, as one of the most remarkable curiosities of the place, several small chapels excavated in the salt, in which mass is laid on certain days of the year; one of these chapels is above 30 feet long and 25 broad; the altar, the crucifix, the ornaments of the church, the statues of several saints, are all carved out of the salt.

Many of the excavations or chambers, from whence the salt has been dug, are of an immense size; some are supported with timber, others by vast pillars of salt, which are left standing for that purpose: several of vast dimensions are without any support in the middle. I remarked one of this latter sort in particular, which was certainly 80 feet in height, and so extremely long and broad, as

almost to appear amid the subterraneous gloom without limits. The roofs of these vaults are not arched, but flat. The immense size of these chambers, with the spacious passages or galleries, together with the chapels above-mentioned, and a few sheds built for the horses which are foddered below, probably gave rise to the exaggerated accounts of some travellers; that these mines contain several villages inhabited by colonies of miners, who never see the light. It is certain that there is room sufficient for such purposes; but the fact is, that the miners have no dwellings under ground, none of them remaining below more than eight hours at a time, when they are relieved by others from above. In truth, these mines are of a most stupendous extent and depth; and are sufficiently wonderful without the least exaggeration. We found them as dry as a room, without the least damp or moisture; observing only in our whole progress one small spring of water, which is impregnated with salt, as it runs through the mine.

Such an enormous mass of salt exhibits a wonderful phenomenon in the natural history of this globe. Monsieur Guetard, who visited these mines with great attention, and who has published

published a treatise upon the subject, informs us; that the uppermost bed of earth at the surface immediately over the mines is sand; the second clay, occasionally mixed with sand and gravel, and containing petrifications of marine bodies; the third calcareous stone. From all these circumstances he conjectures that this spot was formerly covered by the sea, and that the salt is a gradual deposit formed by the evaporation of its waters *.

These mines have now been worked above 600 years, for they are mentioned in the Polish annals so early as 1237, under Boleslaus † the Chaste, and not as a new discovery: how much earlier they were known cannot now be ascertained. Their profits had long been appropriated to the king's privy purse: before the partition they furnished a considerable part of his present majesty's revenue, who drew from them an annual average profit of about 3,500,000 Polish florins, or £. 97,222. 4s. 6d. sterling. They now belong to the emperor, being situated within the province which he dismembered

* See Memoire sur les Mines de Sel de Wielitska in Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences for 1762.

† Lengnich, Jus Pub. vol. I. p. 249.

from

from Poland; but at the time we visited them they were far from yielding a revenue equal to that which they had afforded to the king of Poland; for the Austrian commissioners imprudently raised the price of salt, from an idea that Poland could not exist without drawing that commodity as usual from Wielitka, and would therefore be obliged to receive it at any price. This mode of proceeding offending the Poles, the king of Prussia, with his usual sagacity, did not neglect such an opportunity of extending his commerce; he immediately imported large quantities of salt, which he procured chiefly from Spain, to Dantzic, Memmel, and Koningsburg, from whence it was conveyed up the Vistula into the interior provinces: by these means he furnished great part of Poland with salt, at a cheaper rate than the inhabitants could procure it from the house of Austria; and in 1778 the mines of Wielitka only supplied the districts which immediately border upon Austrian Poland.

I never saw a road so barren of interesting scenes as that from Cracow to Warsaw; there is not a single object throughout the whole tract, which can for a moment draw the attention of the most inquisitive traveller. The country, for the most part of the way,
was

was level, with little variation of surface: it was chiefly overspread with vast tracts of thick gloomy forest; and even where it was more open, the distant horizon was always skirted with wood. The trees were chiefly pines and firs, intermixed with beech, birch, and small oaks. The occasional breaks in the forest presented some pasture ground, with here and there a few meagre crops of corn.

Without having actually traversed it, I could hardly have conceived so comfortless a region: a forlorn stillness and solitude prevailed almost through the whole extent, with few symptoms of an inhabited, and still less of a civilized country. Though we were travelling in the high road, which unites Cracow and Warsaw, in the course of about 258 English miles we met in our progress only two carriages and about a dozen carts. The country was equally thin of human habitations: a few straggling villages, all built of wood, succeeded one another at long intervals, whose miserable appearance corresponded to the wretchedness of the country around them. In these assemblages of huts, the only places of reception for travellers were hovels, belonging to Jews, totally destitute of furniture
and

and every species of accommodation. We could seldom procure any other room but that in which the family lived; in the article of provision, eggs and milk were our greatest luxuries, and could not always be obtained; our only bed was straw thrown upon the ground, and we thought ourselves happy when we could procure it clean. Even we, who were by no means delicate, and who had long been accustomed to all kinds of inconveniences, found ourselves distressed in this land of desolation. In most other countries we made a point of suspending our journey during night, in order that no scene might escape our observation; yet we here even preferred continuing our route without intermission to the penance we endured in these receptacles of filth and penury: and we have reason to believe that the darkness of the night deprived us of nothing but the sight of gloomy forests, indifferent crops of corn, and objects of human misery. The natives were poorer, humbler, and more miserable than any people we had yet observed in the course of our travels: wherever we stopped, they flocked around us in crowds; and, asking for charity, used the most abject gestures.

The

The road bore as few marks of industry as the country which it intersects. It was best where it was sandy; in other parts it was scarcely passable; and in the marshy grounds, where some labour was absolutely necessary to make it support the carriages, it was raised with sticks and boughs of trees thrown promiscuously upon the surface, or formed by trunks of trees laid crossways. After a tedious journey we at length approached Warsaw: but the roads being neither more passable, nor the country better cultivated, and the suburbs chiefly consisting of the same wooden hovels which compose the villages; we had no suspicion of being near the capital of Poland until we arrived at its gates.

C H A P. III.

Arrival at Warsaw.—Description of the city.—Journal of occurrences.—Presentation to the king of Poland.—Palace.—Portraits of the kings of Poland.—Literary society.—Entertainment at the king's villa.—Supper in prince Poniatowski's garden.—Description of a fête champêtre given at Povonski by the princess Zartoriska, &c. &c.

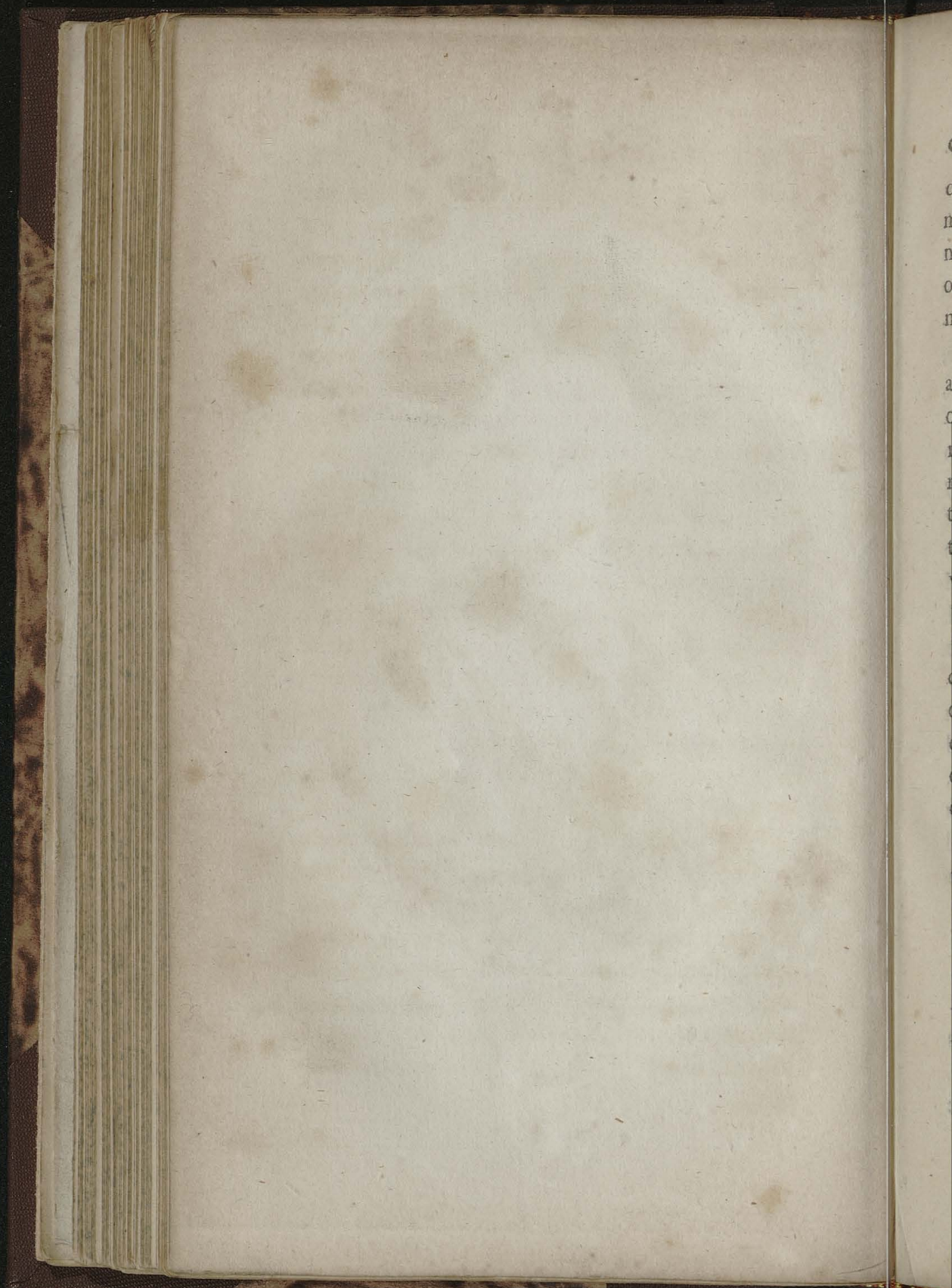
THE situation of Warsaw is not unpleasant: it is built partly in a plain, and partly upon a gentle ascent rising from the banks of the Vistula, which is about as broad as the Thames at Westminster-Bridge, but very shallow in summer. The city and its suburbs occupy a vast extent of ground; and are supposed to contain between sixty and seventy thousand inhabitants, among whom are a great number of foreigners. The whole town has a melancholy appearance, exhibiting that strong contrast of wealth and poverty, luxury and distress, which pervades every part of this unhappy country. The streets are spacious, but ill-paved; the churches





Engraved by T. Gidell in the Strand 1783.

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churches and public buildings are large and magnificent; the palaces of the nobility are numerous and splendid; but the greatest part of the houses, particularly in the suburbs, are mean and ill-constructed wooden hovels.

August 2. The English minister being absent in the country, we carried our letters of recommendation to Count Rzewuski great marshal of the crown, who received us with much civility; and appointed Sunday morning to present us to the king at his levee. At the hour appointed we repaired to court, and were admitted into the audience-chamber, where the principal officers of the crown were waiting for his majesty's appearance. In this chamber I observed four busts, placed by order of his present majesty; namely, those of Elizabeth queen of England; Henry IV. of France; John Sobieski; and the present empress of Russia.

At length the king made his appearance; and we were presented. His majesty talked to each of us a considerable time in the most obliging manner; he said many handsome things of the English nation, mentioned his residence in London with great appearance of satisfaction, and concluded by inviting us to supper in the evening, of which honour we
had

had before had previous intimation from the great marshal. The king of Poland is handsome in his person, with an expressive countenance, a dark complexion, Roman nose, and penetrating eye: he is uncommonly pleasing in his address and manner, and possesses great sweetness of condescension, tempered with dignity. He had on a full-dressed suit; which circumstance I mention because he is the first king of this country who has not worn the national habit, or who has not shaved his head after the Polish custom. His example has of course had many imitators: and I was much surprized to see so few of the chief nobility in the national garb. The natives however in general are so attached to this dress, that in the diet of convocation which assembled previous to the election of his present majesty, it was proposed to insert in the *Pacta Conventa* an article, whereby the king should be obliged to wear the Polish garment: but this motion was over-ruled; and he was left at liberty to consult his own taste. At his coronation he laid aside the antient regal habit of ceremony; and appeared in robes of a more modern fashion, with his hair flowing upon his shoulders.

The

The levee being ended, we went through the apartments of the palace : it was built by Sigismund III. and since his time has been the principal residence of the Polish monarchs. Warsaw is far more commodious for the capital than Cracow, because it is situated nearer to the center of the kingdom, and because the diet is assembled in this city. The palace stands upon a rising ground at a small distance from the Vistula ; and commands a fine view of that river and of the adjacent country. Next to the audience-chamber is an apartment fitted up with marble, which his majesty has dedicated, by the following inscription, to the memory of his predecessors the kings of Poland : *Regum Memoriae dicavit Stanislaus Augustus hocce monumentum*, 1771. The portraits of the sovereigns are ranged in chronological order : the series begins from Boleslaus, and is carried down to his present majesty, whose picture is not yet finished. These heads are all painted by Bacciarelli, and well executed : the portraits of the earlier kings are sketched from the painter's imagination ; but that of Ladislaus II. and most of his successors, are copied from real originals. They altogether produce a pleasing effect, and may be considered as an agreeable species of genealogical table.

In this apartment the king gives a dinner every Thursday to the men of letters who are most conspicuous for their learning and abilities: his majesty himself presides at table, and takes the lead in the graces of conversation as much as in rank; and, though a sovereign, does not think it beneath him to be a most entertaining companion. The persons who are admitted to this society read occasionally treatises upon different topics of history, natural philosophy, and other miscellaneous subjects: and, as a code of laws was compiling in order to be presented to the next diet, parts of that code, or observations relating to legislation in general, and the constitution of Poland in particular, were introduced and perused. The king zealously encourages all attempts to refine and polish his native tongue, which had been much neglected during the reigns of his two predecessors, who were totally ignorant of the Polish language. He is fond of poetry; accordingly that species of composition is much cultivated at these meetings. The adjoining apartment was hung with the portraits of the principal members of the society.

In obedience to the king's condescending invitation, we proceeded, about eight in the evening,

evening, to one of the royal villas, situated in the midst of a delightful wood about three miles from Warsaw. It is small, consisting of a saloon, and four other apartments upon the first floor, together with a bath, from which it takes its name of *la Maison de Bain*: above are the same number of rooms; each of them fitted up in the most elegant manner. The king received us in the saloon with wonderful affability: his brother and two of his nephews were present, and a few of the nobility of both sexes, who generally compose his private parties. There were two tables for whist, and those who were not engaged at cards walked about, or stood at different sides of the room, while the king, who seldom plays, conversed occasionally with every one. At about half an hour after nine, supper being announced, we followed the king into an adjoining apartment, where was a small round table with eight covers: the supper consisted of one course and a desert. His majesty sat down, but eat nothing; he took a considerable share in the conversation, without wholly engrossing it. After supper we repaired to the saloon, part of the company returned to their cards, while we, out of respect to the king, continued standing, until

his majesty was pleased to propose sitting down, adding, "we shall be more at our ease chatting round a table." We accordingly seated ourselves, and the conversation lasted without interruption, and with perfect ease, till midnight, when the king retired. Before he withdrew, he gave a general order to a nobleman of the party, that we should be conducted to see every object in Warsaw worthy of a stranger's curiosity. This extraordinary degree of attention penetrated us with gratitude, and proved a prelude to still greater honours.

August 5. We had the honour of dining with his majesty at the same villa, and experienced the same ease and affability of reception as before. The king had hitherto talked French, but his majesty now did me the honour to converse with me in English, which he speaks remarkably well. He expressed a very flattering predilection for our nation: he surprized me by his extraordinary knowledge of our constitution, laws, and history; which was so circumstantial and exact, that he could not have acquired it without infinite application: all his remarks were pertinent, just, and rational. He is familiarly conversant with our best authors; and his
enthusiastic

enthusiastic admiration of Shakespeare gave me the most convincing proofs of his intimate acquaintance with our language, and his taste for the beauties of genuine poetry. He inquired much about the state of arts and sciences in England; and spoke with raptures upon the protection and encouragement which our sovereign gives to the liberal arts and to every species of literature. After we had taken our leave, we drove round the wood to several other villas, in which the king occasionally resides. They are all constructed in different styles with great taste and elegance. His majesty is very fond of architecture; and draws himself all the plans for the buildings, and even the designs for the interior decorations of the several apartments.

In the evening we had the pleasure of meeting his majesty at his brother's, prince Poniatowski, who gave us a most elegant entertainment at a garden which is situated near his villa, and is richly ornamented with buildings. The taste of the Polish nobility is not to be controuled by want of any materials; for if they cannot procure them from nature, they make a representation of them by art. In the present instance, as there are no quarries of stone near Warsaw, the prince has

substituted a composition so nearly resembling stone, that the most minute observer can scarcely discover the difference. We arrived at the garden about nine: it was a beautiful evening of one of the most sultry days we had experienced this summer. After walking about the grounds, we came to a grotto of artificial rock, where a spring of water dripped through the sides, and fell into a basin with a pleasing murmur. We were scarcely assembled in this delightful spot, when the king made his appearance: we rose up to meet him; the usual compliments being passed, we attended his majesty about the grounds, and then returned to the grotto, round which we ranged ourselves upon a bank covered with moss. The moon was now risen; and added greatly to the beauty of the scene. I happened to be seated next to the king (for all form and ceremony was banished), who talked with me as usual, in English, on the arts and sciences, literature, and history. In the course of this conversation I ventured to ask whether there was any good poetry in the Polish language. His majesty told me, “ We have some lighter pieces of poetry, by
 “ no means contemptible, and an indifferent
 “ epic poem; but the work of chief poetical
 “ excellence

“ excellence in our tongue is a fine translation
“ of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso, far
“ superior to any translations of that admira-
“ ble poem in other languages; some Italians
“ of taste and judgment have esteemed it
“ not much inferior to the original perform-
“ ance.” I then took the liberty of inquiring
concerning the historical productions of Po-
land; when the king informed me, that they
had no good history of their country in Polish,
which he looked upon as a national reflection,
though he flattered himself it would soon be
removed, as a person of genius and erudition*,
admirably calculated for the undertaking,
was now employed in that work. Upon
expressing my surprize at a circumstance
almost peculiar to Poland, that they had no
history in their native tongue; his majesty

* Naruszewicz, bishop of Smolensko. In 1785, he had already printed the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes. He had postponed printing his first volume, until he had received farther documents from Rome; for this reason the work was not then published. The second volume begins with Micislaus I; and the fifth ends with the death of Ladislaus Loketec, in 1333. The sixth, which was in the press, contains the reign of Casimir the Great; and the seventh will comprise the interregnum which followed the death of Casimir, the reign of Louis, and the subsequent interregnum, to the election of Ladislaus Jaghellon.

condescended to acquaint me, that they had several excellent historians, but all of them had written in Latin; "the knowledge of this language," his majesty remarked, "is very general among the Poles* ; the earliest laws are all drawn up in Latin until the reign of Sigismund Augustus, when they began to be composed in the vernacular language; the old *Pacta Conventa* are all in Latin; those of Ladislaus IV. being the first that appeared in Polish." This conversation, in which I was at a loss whether to admire most the knowledge or condescension of the king, was interrupted by the prince, who proposed a turn in the garden before supper: his highness led the way, and the company followed; we passed through a subterraneous passage, long and winding, with here and there a single lamp, which shed a glimmering light; we came at length to a wooden door, which seemed the entrance into some hovel; it opened, and we found

* I had several opportunities of remarking the prevalence of the Latin tongue in Poland; when I visited the prisons I conversed in that language with a common soldier, who stood guard at the entrance: he spoke it with great fluency.

ourselves,

ourselves, to our great astonishment, in a superb saloon, illuminated with innumerable lamps. It was a rotunda, with an elegant dome of the most beautiful symmetry; in the circumference were four open recesses between pillars of artificial marble*:" in the recesses were sofas, with paintings *in fresco*, representing the triumphs of Bacchus, Silenus, Love, and the victory of the Empress of Russia over the Turks. As we were admiring the beauty and elegance of the rotunda, our ears were on a sudden regaled with a concert of exquisite music from an invisible band. While we were listening to this agreeable performance, and conjecturing from what quarter it came, a magnificent table was spread in the midst of the saloon with such expedition, as to resemble the effects of enchantment. We immediately sat down to supper with the king, the prince, and a chosen company: our spirits were elevated by the beauty of the saloon, by the hospitality of the prince, and by the affability of the king; who, so far from being a constraint to the society, greatly enlivened it by his vivacity, and seemed the

* These pillars are of the same composition and colour with those of the Pantheon in Oxford-Street.

soul of the party. I never passed a more agreeable evening; the conversation was animated and rational; while the social ease and freedom, which diffused itself through every part of the company, realized this beautiful convivial picture;

La Liberté convive aimable

Met les deux coudes sur la table.*

Even without the lustre of a crown, which is apt to dazzle our judgments, the king of Poland could not fail of being esteemed one of the most agreeable and polite gentlemen in Europe: he has a surprizing fund of interesting conversation; and I never had the honour of access to his company without being both informed and delighted. His majesty did not retire until one o'clock, when the company separated; and we returned to Warsaw, highly pleased with our evening's entertainment.

I have had frequent occasion to mention the elegance and luxury of the Polish nobility in their houses and villas; in their decorations and furniture they seem to have happily blended the English and French modes;

* Voltaire.

in their entertainments they are exquisitely refined; and as they spare no expence, and have a natural good taste, they generally succeed in creating pleasure and surprize. We every day experienced the agreeable effects of their hospitality and politeness; but by none were we so elegantly regaled as by the princess Zartoriska in a *fête champêtre*, of which I shall attempt a description.

Povonski, the villa of prince Adam Zartoriski, is about three miles from Warsaw in the midst of a forest: the situation is almost level, with here and there a gentle slope, which produces an agreeable variety. A river runs through the grounds, which are laid out in the English taste, with a beautiful intermixture of lawn and wood; walks are cut through the wood, and carried along the side of the water,

The house, which stands upon a gentle rise, has the appearance of a cottage, constructed like those of the peasants, with trunks of trees piled upon each other, and thatched with straw: beside the principal building, inhabited by the prince and princess, there are separate cottages for the children and attendants, each of which has its inclosures and small garden; this group of structures bears
the

the resemblance of a village, composed of huts scattered at a small distance from each other. Other buildings, such as summer-houses, pavilions, rustic sheds, and ruins, are dispersed throughout the grounds; the stables are constructed in the form of an half-demolished amphitheatre. Several romantic bridges, rudely composed of the trunks and bent branches of trees, contribute to heighten the rusticity of the scenery.

Upon our arrival we repaired to the principal cottage, where the princess was ready to receive us: we expected the inside to be furnished in the simple style of a peasant's hovel; but were surprised to find every species of elegant magnificence which riches and taste could collect. All the apartments are decorated in the most costly manner; but the splendour of the bath-room was peculiarly striking: the sides are covered from top to bottom, with small square pieces of the finest Dresden china, each ornamented with an elegant sprig; and the border and ceiling are painted with beautiful festoons. The expence of fitting up this apartment must have been prodigious; as each piece of china cost at Dresden three ducats *. After we had sur-

* About 11. 7s. 6d.

veyed

veyed all the apartments, we proceeded to an inclosure near the house, surrounded with large blocks of granite heaped one upon another, and fallen trees placed in the most natural and picturesque manner; here we drank tea upon the lawn. From thence we repaired to the several cottages inhabited by the children; which are fitted up in different styles, but with equal elegance. Every thing without doors gives one the idea of an happy peasant's family; within all is costliness and taste: I never saw such a striking contrast of simplicity and magnificence.

After walking round the grounds, which are prettily laid out in the English taste of gardening; the company all adjourned to a Turkish tent of rich and curious workmanship, pitched in a beautiful retired field near the stables, which represent a ruined amphitheatre. This tent belonged to the grand-vizier, and was taken during the late war between the Russians and the Turks: under it was a fettee, and a carpet spread upon the ground. Here we remained conversing until it was quite dusk, when the princess proposed returning; she led us through the house to a small spot of rising ground, where we were suddenly struck with a most beautiful

beautiful illumination. A rustic bridge, consisting of a single arch over a broad piece of water, was studded with several thousand lamps of different colours; the reflection whereof in the water was so strong as to deceive the eye, and gave the whole the appearance of a brilliant circle suspended in the air: the effect was splendid beyond description, and considerably heightened by the gloom of the forest in the back-ground. While we continued admiring this delightful scene, a band of music struck up at a little distance, and amused us with an excellent concert. We were then led from this enchanting spot, across the illuminated bridge, to a thatched pavilion, open at the sides, and supported by pillars ornamented with garlands and twisted festoons of flowers: we found within a cold collation, and sat down to a table covered with all kind of delicacies, with the most costly wines, and every species of fruit which art or nature could furnish. The evening was delightful, the scenery picturesque, the fare delicious; the company in good spirits; for who could be otherwise, when every circumstance, which the taste and ingenuity of our fair hostess could invent, conspired to heighten the entertainment? The collation

collation being ended, we rose from table: which I concluded to be the close of the entertainment, but was agreeably disappointed: the gardens were suddenly illuminated; we all ranged about as fancy dictated; and were gratified with the sound of wind instruments played by musicians dispersed in different parts of the grounds. We repassed the bridge, and returned into the cottage, when the two eldest daughters of the princess, habited in Grecian dresses of the most elegant simplicity, performed a Polish and a Cossack dance; the former serious and graceful, the latter comic and lively. The eldest son, a boy about eight years old, next performed a hornpipe with great agility, and afterwards a dance in the style of the Polish peasants with much humour. It was now past two in the morning; we seemed as if we could stay for ever; but as there must be an end of all sublunary joys, we took our leave, expressing our thanks and gratitude in language far unequal to our feelings. Imagination can scarcely form a *fête champêtre* so elegant: and I am persuaded, that it will seldom fall to the lot of the same person to partake of such a pleasing entertainment twice in his life.

The

The day before our departure from this town we dined with the bishop of Plotzko, the king's brother, at his palace of Jabloniska about eight miles from Warsaw. The palace is an handsome building, constructed after a design, and at the expence, of his majesty. One of the apartments, called the Turkish saloon, is remarkable for its elegance and singularity: it is in the Oriental taste, of an oblong shape, very lofty, with a fountain in the middle, surrounded with a *parterre* of flowers. Between the *parterre* and sides of the room are ranges of Turkish sophas. The variegated tints and rich fragrance of the flowers, joined to the transparency and murmurs of the fountain, produce a most pleasing effect; and, together with the coolness of the apartment, render it a delicious retreat from the heats of summer. The Vistula winds along at a small distance from the palace, through a sandy and almost level country.

In the evening we accompanied prince Stanislaus to his majesty's villa, well assured of passing an interesting evening; but it was now embittered with the reflection that it would never again be repeated, and that this was the last time of our being admitted to the company of so amiable a monarch. In

the following conversation I had an additional proof of his humanity and condescension: "You have been to the prisons*, and I am afraid you found them in a wretched condition." To have mentioned all their abuses, when I knew that his majesty could not alter them, would only have been an insult; I endeavoured therefore to palliate my answer, by remarking, what is but too true, that in several instances they were not so ill regulated as in England. "I am surprized," returned the king, "that a nation, who so justly piques itself for its humanity, should be deficient in so essential an article of police." I then ventured, with as much delicacy as possible, to point out one material abuse in the prisons of Warsaw, which I thought might probably be in his majesty's power to alleviate at least, if not to remedy. The circumstance which I alluded to was, that there is no separate room for the accommodation of sick prisoners; at the same time I begged pardon for this instance of presumption, which nothing but my compassion for the unfortunate could have extorted from me. "He who pleads the cause of the unhappy,"

* See the latter part of Chap. V.

replied his majesty, "is always listened to with pleasure;" an expression I shall never forget, and which convinced me, by the pathetic manner in which it was uttered, that it was the real sentiment of his heart. The turn of the conversation led the king to enlarge upon the code of laws preparing for the inspection of the approaching diet; when his majesty expatiated, with peculiar satisfaction, upon several beneficial regulations calculated to promote the impartial administration of justice. "Happy Englishman!" exclaimed the king, "your house is raised, and mine is yet to build." Every part of this conference impressed me with the highest opinion of the king's benevolence, patriotism, and legislative abilities.

After supper, which passed no less agreeably than the preceding entertainments, we were presented to take leave: the king condescended to inquire of us the route we intended to take; and to point out what was most likely to occur worthy of observation. "Your majesty," I ventured to observe, "has omitted the manufactures which you have established at Grodno*." "An Englishman," replied the king, "after having seen the

* See Chap. VI. article GRODNO.

" manu-

“ manufactures of his own country, will find
“ little deserving his curiosity in any other,
“ and particularly in this kingdom, where
“ there is such a settled aversion to com-
“ merce. The establishment at Grodno is
“ but a beginning: I consider it only as a
“ pledge of my future intentions.” I then
mentioned the new regulations in the univer-
sity of Vilna, and the foundation of a physic-
garden at Grodno. “ You are deceived by
“ the similitude of names. An English uni-
“ versity is as much superior to foreign semi-
“ naries, as your nation excels all others in
“ the cultivation of literature, and the en-
“ couragement given to genius and abilities.
“ The academy at Vilna is more the image
“ of what it was, and of what it ought to be,
“ than an object of a traveller’s curiosity.”
He then graciously expressed his regret at our
departing so soon from Warsaw, and, wishing
us a good journey, retired.

I flatter myself, that I shall not appear too
minute in relating all these circumstances;
the familiar incidents of domestic life place
the character of a sovereign in a truer point of
view than the more splendid occurrences of pub-
lic grandeur, where the real disposition is often
disguised by form, or sacrificed to policy.

Q 2

Such

Such were the remarks which I made at Warsaw in 1779; a second visit to the same capital, in 1785, furnished me with little additional matter.

May 29, 1785. About seventy miles from Königsberg, we quitted the Black Eagle of Prussia and recognised the White Eagle of Poland; and, passing through several miserable villages, which announced the wretchedness of Poland, we reached, on the evening of the 31st, Warsaw, without meeting with a single object worthy of attention, or a single adventure worthy of notice.

Having before described our presentation at court, and reception from Stanislaus Augustus, I shall not again repeat similar marks of condescendence and benignity with which I was honoured by that amiable sovereign, nor the hospitable manner in which I was again received by the Polish nobility.

The reader will recollect that, in 1779, when I first visited Warsaw, I described Poland as almost a Russian province, governed by the ambassador of Catharine the Second.

In my second tour, I found the whole kingdom in a state of the same subjection to Russia as in my first expedition, and fatally announcing, by its total dependance on a foreign

reign power, its sad decline from its former preponderance in the North, and the wretched constitution by which it is governed.

Although it is foreign to my purpose to take notice of any changes which may have taken place in Poland since my departure, in May 1785, yet I cannot avoid remarking, that in 1789 and 1790, the empress of Russia entirely lost her influence in that country, withdrew her troops, and recalled her ambassador; and that the natives had made some efforts to increase and discipline their army, and to raise their consequence in the consideration of Europe.

The permanent council has been abolished, and several alterations introduced into the form of government, tending to emancipate the country from the influence of Russia, and to restore it to itself, if it is possible to restore a country in which anarchy is the characteristic feature.

But as long as the monarchy continues elective*, as long as the nobles and gentry

* The reader will recollect, that these remarks were made when Poland was an *elective* monarchy; what effect the late surprising revolution, which, if permanent, has introduced an *hereditary* monarchy, may have on this hitherto convulsed kingdom, is an inquiry foreign from the present work.

alone enjoy the right of possessing land, and as long as the peasants are slaves, all alterations in the form of government must be merely nominal, and its essence must still continue the same. The king must always be a puppet in the hands of his most powerful neighbour, and the nobles, in whom are vested the supreme authority, turbulent, and above controul, except awed by some foreign power.

In fact, Poland has no nerve or vigour of its own, but receives its impulse from one of the great neighbouring powers by which it is surrounded. By the change of northern politics, the king of Prussia, in alliance with Great Britain and Holland, has succeeded to the influence before possessed by Catharine the Second, and directs the republic almost with the same unbounded sway. But the fate of Poland, like that of its vassal the duke of Courland, must ultimately depend upon the event of the present war between Russia and the Turks, and on the final tendency of the negotiations, either to enlarge or to confine the preponderance of Russia in the scale of the North.

C H A P. IV.

Villanow *the favourite palace of John Sobieski.*

—Account of that monarch.—Circumstances of his death.—Intrigues of his queen.—Division and cabals of his family.—Fortunes of his children.—Extinction of his name.—Genealogical table of his descendants.

AUGUST 6, 1779. We passed the day at Villanow, where we dined with prince Zartoriski. He is a fine old man, near fourscore, and lives in the true style of ancient hospitality: he is constantly attended by his own guards, which I mention, not as being peculiar to him, who enjoys the first offices of the republic, but because it leads me to remark that every Polish nobleman may have as many guards as he can afford to maintain.

The prince keeps an open table, at which there are seldom less than twenty or thirty covers. His revenues are large, amounting to near £. 100,000 sterling *per annum*; and his style of living corresponds to this great income.

Villanow was built by John Sobieski the conqueror of the Turks and deliverer of Vienna : it was the favourite residence of that great monarch, where he mostly lived when not in arms, and where he closed his days. The palace, being sold after his death, came by marriage into the family of Zartoriski ; it was lent to Augustus II. who considerably enlarged it. The outside is ornamented with several basso relievos, representing the principal victories of John Sobieski, which were probably added by Augustus ; for the former was too modest and unassuming to erect monuments of his own glory.

The æra of John Sobieski, splendid in itself, appears more luminous, when contrasted with the darkness which preceded and followed. The reigns of his immediate predecessor and successor were convulsed with internal commotions ; but the spirit of discord and anarchy was laid for a time by his transcendent genius. Under his auspices Poland seemed to revive from the calamities which had long oppressed her, and again to recover her antient splendour : such is the powerful ascendancy of a great and superior mind. His military talents require no other testimony than the victory of Chotzim, the recovery

very of the Ukraine, repeated defeats of the Turks and Tartars, and the delivery of Vienna: while an exact insight into the laws and constitution of his country, a manly and persuasive eloquence, a love and protection of literature, an accurate knowledge of foreign languages, and an unceasing habit of affability, moderation, and temperance, render him no less an object of our admiration in his civil capacity *. But the monarch, who could allay the ferments of public faction, could not suppress the domestic dissensions of his own family; and the same great prince, who kept a turbulent people in awe, and chastised the most formidable enemies, was himself under the controul of his consort, a French

* Dr. South, in his Account of Poland, thus describes John Sobieski: "The king is a very well-spoken prince, very easy of access, and extreme civil, having most of the qualities requisite to form a complete gentleman. He is not only well versed in all military affairs, but likewise, through the means of a French education, very opulently stored with all polite and scholastical learning. Besides his own tongue, the Sclavonian, he understands the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkish languages: He delights much in natural history, and in all the parts of physic. He is wont to reprimand the clergy for not admitting the modern philosophy, such as Le Grand's and Cartesius's, into the universities and schools," &c. South's Posthumous Works, p. 24.

lady,

lady*, of exquisite beauty and elegant manners, but of restless intrigue, insatiable avarice, and inordinate ambition. This unprincipled woman fomented a spirit of disunion and jealousy among her children; and loaded her eldest son with every species of indignity. She formed and supported an administration called, by way of derision, the Jewish junto; and introduced into the royal household a narrow parsimony unbecoming the dignity of a powerful sovereign; in a word, by a series of offensive and wicked measures, she lost her husband the affection of his subjects; and rendered the close of his reign as odious, as the preceding part had been popular and glorious.

The decline of Sobieski's life was clouded with affliction. He felt himself a prey to a lingering disease†; yet, instead of deriving any comfort from his nearest connections, he experienced an aggravation of his distress from the unnatural contests of his children, and the intriguing spirit of his queen. The decay of his authority, and the indecent cabals almost openly carrying on for the choice of his

* Marie de la Grange. See p. 239.

† His illness was a complication of disorders, gout, stone, asthma, dropy.

successor,

successor, affected in the strongest manner a person of his extreme sensibility: his subjects, instead of lamenting, seemed eagerly to anticipate his dissolution. Yet, in this deplorable state, the king's equanimity, founded on religion and philosophy, did not forsake him; and he retained, even upon his death-bed, that mixture of seriousness and gaiety, strength of reasoning and quickness of repartee, which so strongly marked his character. He died on the 17th of June, 1696. Some striking incidents, immediately preceding his death, are transmitted to us by the chancellor Zaluski bishop of Plotko, who was present when he expired.

Some alarming symptoms in Sobieski's disorder having awakened the queen's solicitude respecting the succession to his fortune, she earnestly importuned Zaluski to present himself before the king, and insinuate some advice concerning the disposition of his affairs. The bishop, when he entered the apartment, finding the king in an agony of excruciating pain *, endeavoured to give him comfort and hopes of recovery. But Sobieski replied, "I foresee my approaching death; my situation

* Zaluski Epist. vol. III. p. 5—14.

" will

" will be the same to-morrow as it is to-day ;
 " all consolation is now too late : " then,
 fetching a deep sigh, his majesty asked him
 " why he came so seldom to court, and in
 " what manner he employed himself at his
 " diocese alone ? " Zaluski, after expatiating
 upon the duties of his episcopal office and the
 resources of literature, artfully turned the dis-
 course to the business in question. " Lately,"
 said he, " I have been employed in no very
 " agreeable, yet necessary duty : weighing the
 " frail condition of human nature, remember-
 " ing, that as Socrates and Plato, so all men
 " must die ; and considering the dissensions
 " which may arise among my relations after
 " my decease, I have taken an inventory of
 " my effects, and have disposed of them by
 " will." The king, who saw the purport
 of his discourse, interrupted him with a loud
 laugh, and exclaimed, in a quotation from
 Juvenal *, " *O medici, mediam contundite ve-*
 " *nam.*" " What, my Lord Bishop ! you
 " whose judgment and good sense I have so
 " long esteemed, do you make your will ?

* Juvenal, Sat. VI. l. 40. " Open a vein." In apply-
 ing this passage, the king meant to insinuate that the bishop
 was mad.

" What

“What an useleſs loſs of time!” &c. Not diſcouraged by this ſally, the biſhop perſe-
vered in ſuggeſting, “that in juſtice to his
“family and country he ought without delay
“to regulate the diſpoſition of his effects,
“and to declare his final inclinations.”
“For God’s ſake,” returned Sobieſki with a
more ſerious tone, “do not ſuppoſe that any
“good will ariſe in this age! when vice has
“increaſed to ſuch an enormous degree, as
“almost to exclude all hopes of forgivenefs
“from the mercy of the Deity! Do you
“not ſee how great is the public iniquity,
“tumult, and violence? all ſtrive who ſhall
“blend good and evil without diſtinction:
“the morals of my ſubjects are overturned;
“will you again reſtore them? My orders
“are not attended to while I am alive;
“can I expect to be obeyed when I am
“dead? That man is happy, who with his
“own hand diſpoſes of his effects, which
“cannot be entrusted with ſecurity to his
“executors; while they who bequeath them
“by a will act abſurdly, for conſigning to the
“care of others what is more ſecure in the
“hands of their neareſt relations. Have not
“the regulations of the kings my predeceſſors
“been deſpiſed after their deaths? Where
“corruption

“ corruption universally prevails, judgment is
 “ obtained by money: the voice of conscience
 “ is not heard, and reason and equity are no
 “ more.” Then suddenly giving a ludicrous
 turn to the conversation, he exclaimed,
 “ What can you say to this, Mr. Will-
 “ maker * !”

On the 17th of June, the king growing worse, the bishop was again summoned to Villanow; when his majesty heard prayers, and was particularly fervent in his devotion. After dinner, while he was conversing with his usual gaiety in the presence of Zaluski and the abbé Polignac, he was suddenly seized with a stroke of apoplexy; but recovering a little, he confessed, and, having received absolution and extreme unction, expired almost without a groan, in the 66th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign, on the same day in which he was raised to the throne. The name of Sobieski is now extinct. My veneration for this great man prompted me to inquire into the fortunes of his family.

Sobieski † left behind him his wife Marie de la Grange, three sons, James, Alexander,

* Quid ad hæc, Domine testamentarie !

† The abbé Coyer has written the Life of Sobieski with great spirit and fidelity.

and Constantine, and one daughter Theresa Cunigunda. Marie his wife, daughter of Henry de la Grange captain of the guards to Philip duke of Orleans, and of Frances de la Chartre, was maid of honour to Louisa queen of Ladislaus IV. She was first married to Radzivil prince of Zamoski; within a month after his decease she espoused John Sobieski in secret, and brought him in dower a large portion and the favour of his sovereign. Her influence over her husband, and the ill use she made of her power when he ascended the throne, have been already observed.

James Louis, the eldest son of Sobieski, was born at Paris in 1667. He accompanied his father to the relief of Vienna, in the 16th year of his age; and narrowly escaped being slain in an action near Banan in Hungary. He afterwards gave such signal proofs of his military talents, that, upon his father's indisposition in the campaign of 1687 against the Turks, he was entrusted with the command of the army, although only in the 21st year of his age; and received from the soldiers all the honours usually paid only to the kings of Poland: a singular mark of deference in an elective monarchy, and which gave encouragement to an expectation of the throne at his father's

father's decease. His father promoted this view with the utmost exertion of his interest; but it was entirely disconcerted by the indifference of the prince, and the restless intrigues of the queen; who, having conceived the strongest antipathy to her eldest son, and a no less violent predilection in favour of her second son Alexander, a prince of a more tractable disposition, sacrificed the dignity of her family to a blind impulse of parental partiality.

Sobieski had scarcely expired, before the cabals, which even his authority could hardly suppress, broke out with undissembled violence. The division of the king's treasure caused the most indecent disputes and altercations between his widow and children. James, without a moment's delay, endeavoured, though in vain, to seize it by force, being anticipated by the queen*, who, with the assistance of the abbé Polignac, sent it into France. She had three great objects in view: either to obtain the crown for Alexander, whom she was secure of governing; to promote the election of Count Jablonowski, great

* The queen sent 3,000,000 French livres = £. 125,000 into France. Larrey, Hist. Louis XIV. v. II. p. 297.

general of the crown, with an intention of marrying him; or to favour the pretensions of the prince of Conti, warmly supported by Louis XIV. At all events she was firmly resolved to procure the exclusion of her eldest son; and this was the only point she carried. Had the family of Sobieski been unanimous, James would have been elected king; but no submission * could soften the implacable resentment of the queen, who, even when she found it impracticable to secure the election of her favourite son Alexander, or to compass any of her other designs, both in secret and

* Zaluski has given the following curious instance of the queen's implacability. "I and other senators accompanied prince James to the Queen's at Bieltz, but her majesty being informed of our approach, retired precipitately from the palace in order to avoid the interview; we overtook her about a mile from Bieltz, and ordered the driver to stop, while she repeatedly urged him to continue his route: at length the coachman, alarmed by our number and threats, stopped the carriage. On our advancing to the queen, she received us with great marks of displeasure; and although the prince prostrated himself before her, and embraced her feet with the most profound respect, he was not able to extort from her more than a short and evasive answer. Upon his retiring, with his eyes full of tears, I myself used some endeavours to soften her resentment; which, however, had no other effect than to draw from her additional expressions of disgust and indignation." Zaluski, vol. III. p. 135.

openly set herself in opposition to the pretensions of James. When the diet of convocation assembled at Warsaw, the queen summoned a meeting of senators and nuntios in her apartment, whom she addressed in regard to her son with all the virulence which inveterate fury could inspire, and all the affected candour towards the Poles which the most consummate hypocrisy could suggest*.

“ Although I am not by birth a Pole, I am
 “ one by inclination; and am more attached
 “ to this nation than to my own family.
 “ Reflect maturely whom you will nominate
 “ your king in the place of my much-regretted
 “ husband; and I sincerely recommend to you
 “ not to elect one of my children. I too well
 “ know all their dispositions; and particularly
 “ caution you not to raise to the throne the
 “ eldest prince James. His inconsiderate rash-
 “ ness will involve the kingdom in speedy and
 “ inevitable ruin.” The bishop of Plotfko, though her creature, disgusted at these appearances of unnatural rancour, importuned her to desist; but she exclaimed with greater violence: “ Do not interrupt me; I will
 “ never retract what I have said, as I prefer

* Zalufki, vol. III. p. 102.

“ the

“ the safety of the republic to my own interests and the splendour of my family. I again exhort the Poles to elect any candidate in preference to one of my children.”

This virulent opposition to the views of her eldest son was but too successful: he was rejected by a great majority, and the choice of the nation fell upon Augustus elector of Saxony.

The sequel of the history of Sobieski's family, now reduced to a private station, will be comprised in a short compass. After the defeat of Augustus II. at the battle of Cliflow, Charles XII. determined to give a new king to Poland; and his veneration for the memory of John Sobieski induced him to offer that dignity to his eldest son. In consequence of this resolution, Augustus was declared by the primate unworthy to reign; and a diet of election was convened at Warsaw. James was then at Breslaw, impatiently expecting his nomination to the throne so worthily filled by his father, and from which he had been deprived by the unprecedented malice of a mother. But the usual singularity of his ill-fortune still pursued him: as he was hunting with his brother Constantine, a small detachment of Saxon horsemen surprized and carried

ried him off; and, instead of receiving a crown, he was confined in the castle of Pleiffenburgh near Leipfic. Constantine * might have escaped; but, from an impulse of fraternal affection, he voluntarily accompanied his brother into confinement, and administered consolation under this grievous reverse of fortune. This event happened on the 28th of February, 1704.

In the month of September, 1706, the two brothers were removed to the fortress of Koningstein, as to a place of still greater security; but in December of the same year fortunately obtained their enlargement, upon the request of Charles XII. at the conclusion of the celebrated treaty with Augustus II. in which the latter was compelled to abdicate the throne of Poland. This abdication, however, did not revive the pretensions of James to the crown, the election having fallen, during his confinement, upon Stanislaus Letzinski. From this period James passed a private and retired life, and seems to have entirely renounced all his views upon the crown of Poland. He died in 1737 at Zolkiew in Red Russia, in the 70th year of his

* Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 342.

age; and in him, as the last male of his family, the name of Sobieski became extinct. His wife was Hedwige Eleonora*, daughter of Philip William elector palatine; by her

* Sister of Eleonora Magdalena wife of the emperor Leopold. James had been first contracted in marriage to the widow of the elector of Brandenburg's brother, a rich heiress of the house of Radzivil in Lithuania, but upon this occasion he first experienced that ill fortune which afterwards attended him through life. "An envoy was sent to Berlin to negotiate the marriage, which was agreed upon by the elector's and her consent, and the prince himself came thither in person, with a numerous attendance, to consummate it. At the same time came to Berlin the elector palatine's brother, prince Charles of Newburg, brother to the empress, to see the ceremony of the marriage; but this princess, taking more fancy to him than to the prince of Poland, gave him encouragement to make his addresses to her; which he did with that success, that he engaged her so far and so unexpectedly, that he was privately married to her the night before she was to be married to the prince of Poland, so that prince James was forced to return back shamefully: which the king his father resented so highly, that he was resolved to have satisfaction from the elector of Brandenburg, for suffering his son to receive so notorious an affront at his court; but the elector, knowing nothing of that private intrigue, justified himself, and all animosities were at last adjusted by prince James's marrying his rival's sister the princess of Newburg, who was sent into Poland, and has two daughters by him." Connor's History of Poland, v. II. p. 188, 189.

he left two daughters, Mary Charlotte and Clementina Mary.

The eldest, Mary Charlotte, married in 1723 Frederic Maurice de la Tour duke of Bouillon, who dying within a few days after the marriage, she espoused, with a dispensation from the pope, his brother Charles Godfrey the same year. By him she left issue a son, the present duke of Bouillon, married to a lady of the house of Lorraine, and a daughter, who espoused the duke of Rohan-Rohan. In these noble persons and their progeny the female line of Sobieski still exists.

Clementina Mary, the youngest daughter of prince James, married at Montefiascone, in 1719, James Edward Stuart, commonly known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, the pretender to the British throne. This princess, though a woman of great personal and mental endowments, could not engage the affection of her husband; and she was so offended at his attachment to a favourite mistress, that she withdrew from his house, and remained for some time in a convent near Rome. Afterwards, being reconciled to him, she died at Rome on the 18th of June, 1735, aged 33; her death, according to the account
of

of a writer * attached to the Stuart family, was occasioned by religious abstinence and too severe mortifications: her remains were interred with regal pomp in the church of St. Peter, where a monument was erected to her memory. She left two sons by the Chevalier: Charles, usually termed count of Albany, and Henry, cardinal of Yorke. Charles married the princess of Stolberg, by whom he has no children: a misunderstanding not long after their marriage taking place between them, she quitted her husband, and took shelter in a convent in the Tuscan dominions; and, as her quarrel was espoused by the cardinal of Yorke, she obtained a separation for life. We may therefore foresee the extinction of the Sobieski line in the Stuart branch. The ample patrimony of James Sobieski was divided equally between his two daughters. Having lent a considerable sum to the house of Austria; he obtained in return a mortgage upon certain estates in Silesia, which, upon the division of the property after his decease, fell to the Stuart family, and were in their possession when the king of Prussia secured Silesia in the year 1740. His Prussian ma-

* Letters from a Painter in Italy, where her funeral and monument are described, v. II. p. 56.

jeſty confiscated theſe lands to himſelf by right of conqueſt; and the houſe of Auſtria never made any further compenſation for the above-mentioned loan.

Alexander, ſecond ſon of John Sobieſki, was born at Dantzic in 1677; and as he was brought into the world after his father had been raiſed to the throne, he was uſually ſtyled by his mother, who adored him, the ſon of the king; while ſhe affected to call his brother James, who was born before his father's election, the ſon of the great marſhal. Excited by his mother's partiality, and inflamed by an ambition natural to youth, he even aſpired to the throne in oppoſition to his brother James: afterwards however, when a more mature age had corrected his paſſions, and his mother's influence had ceaſed to miſlead him; he declined, from a principle of fraternal affection, the acceptance of that very crown, which had once been the object of his warmeſt hopes. When Charles XII. upon the imprifonment of James, offered the crown of Poland to Alexander; the latter, with a diſinter-eſtedneſs which reflects the higheſt honour upon his memory, reſuſed it with this generous declaration, "that no in-
" tereſt

“terest should tempt him to avail himself
“of his brother’s misfortunes *.”

Alexander passed his days principally at Rome with the queen his mother. During his residence in that city, he never made his appearance at the court of Clement XI. because that pontiff had refused to receive him with the marks of distinction which he claimed as a king’s son. But the honours which were withheld from him while alive, were granted unto him when dead; his body being permitted to lie in royal state, and to be interred with the same ceremonies, which attended the funeral of Christina queen of Sweden. He expired in June 1714, having assumed upon his death-bed the habit of a capuchin, from a superstitious notion of ensuring his salvation †.

Constantine, having regained his liberty at the same time with his brother James, married a German baroness, maid of honour to the princess of Neuburg; a marriage of passion, soon followed by repentance, and from which he in vain endeavoured to pro-

* Voltaire’s Charles XII. p. 90.

† Vie de Sobieski, v. III. p. 176.

cure a release by a divorce. He deceased in 1726 without children.

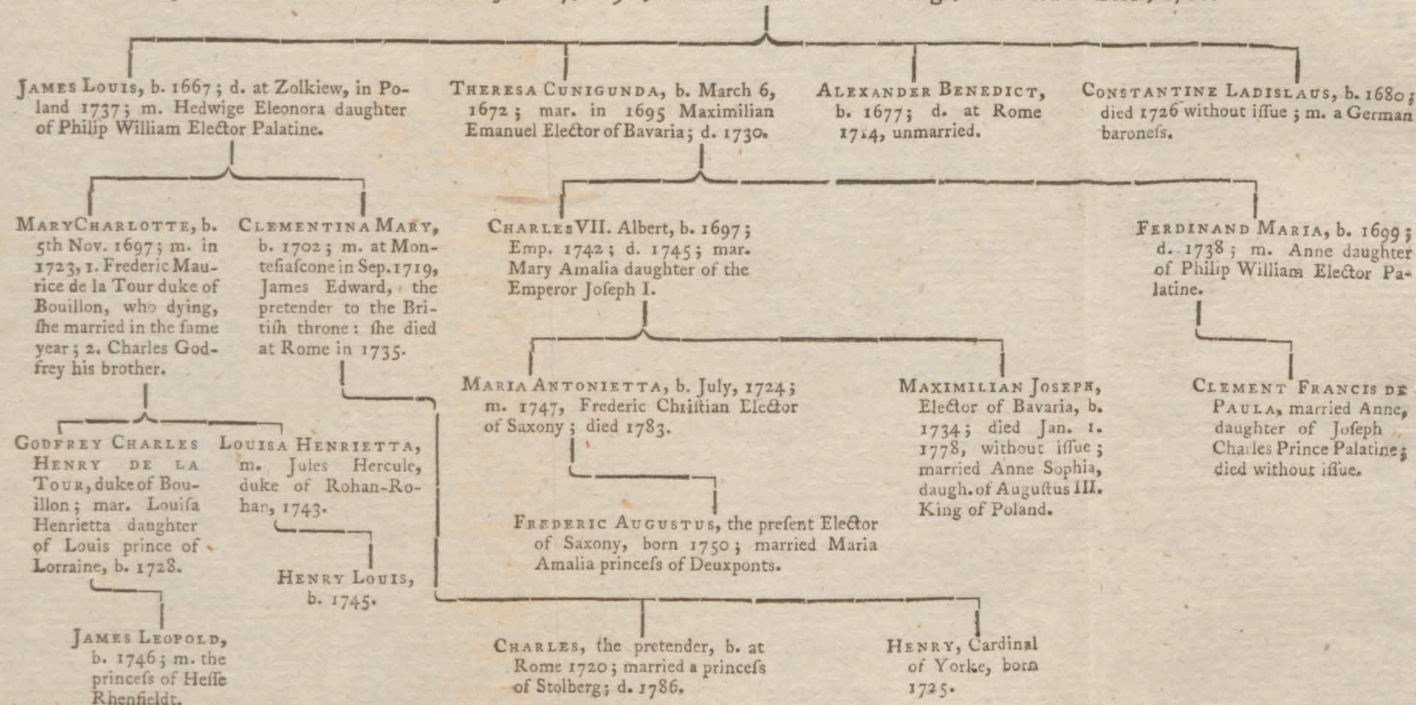
Theresa Cunigunda, the daughter of John Sobieski, married in 1696 Maximilian Emanuel elector of Bavaria, and died a widow 1730. Her son Charles Albert, who succeeded to the electorate of Bavaria, was the unfortunate emperor Charles VII. and her grandson Maximilian Joseph expired in 1778 without issue. Her grand-daughter Maria Antonietta married Frederic Christian elector of Saxony; and the blood of John Sobieski still flows in the veins of their progeny, the present electoral family.

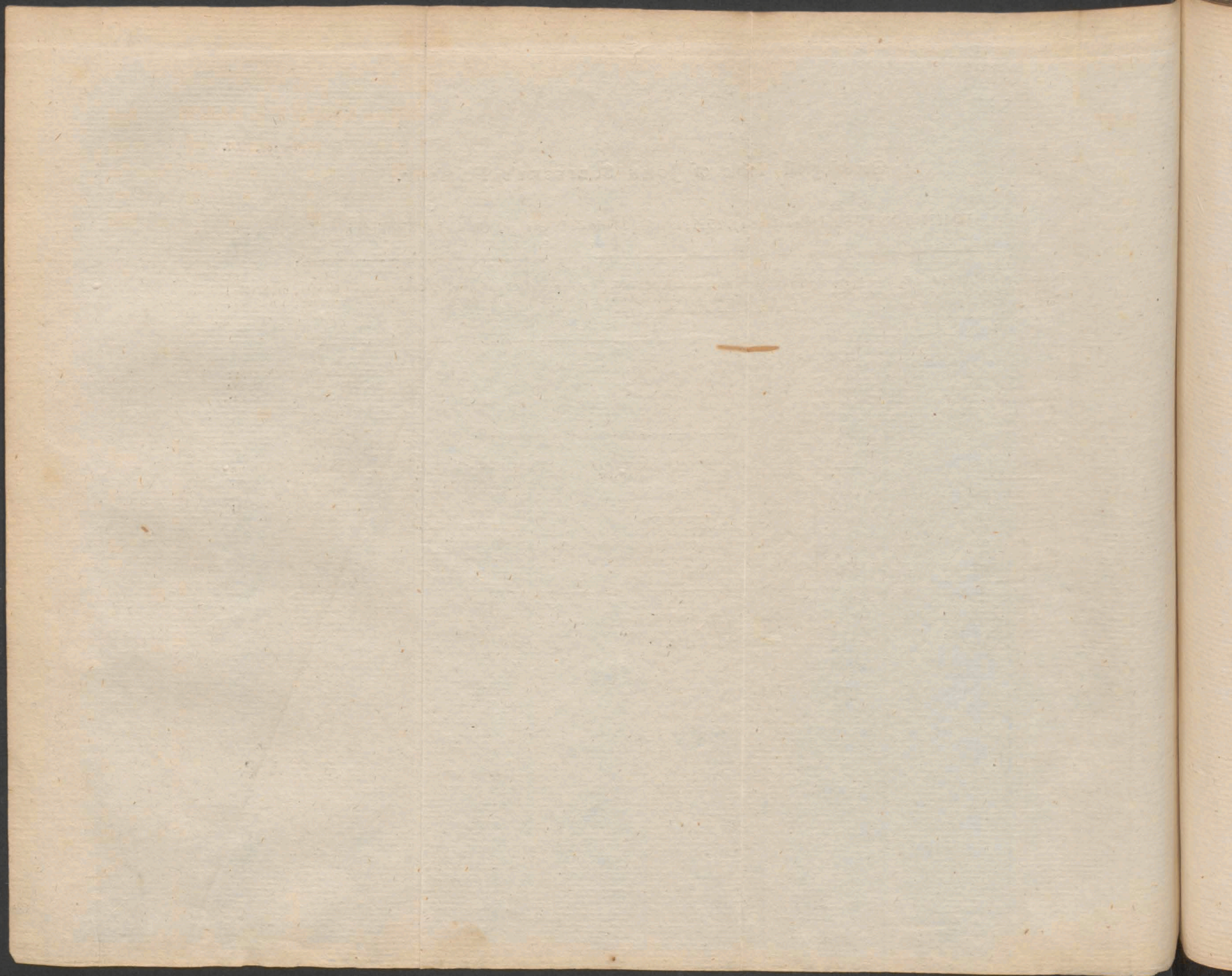
Marie de la Grange, the consort of John Sobieski, passed the first part of her widowhood at Rome with her father the marquis of Arquien, who, from being captain of the Swiss guards to the duke of Orleans, had been promoted by her interest to the dignity of cardinal. She continued to reside in that city until the year 1714, when she retired into France, her native country. Louis XIV. assigned the castle of Blois for her residence, where she died in 1716 *, above 70 years of

* Vie de Sobieski, v. III. p. 177.

Genealogical Table of JOHN SOBIESKI'S FAMILY.

JOHN SOBIESKI died June 17, 1696; married Marie de la Grange, who died at Blois, 1716.





age. Her remains were transported to Warsaw, and from thence conveyed, together with those of her husband, in 1734, to Cracow, and interred in the cathedral of that city*.

* Lengnich, Hist. p. 390.

C H A P. V.

Coins of Poland.—Public library.—State of Learning.—Literature encouraged by the king.—Wretched administration of justice.—Prisons of Warsaw.—Punishments for criminal offences.—Torture abolished.—Laws relating to debtors.

BEFORE our departure from Warsaw we visited some objects of literary curiosity usually inspected by foreigners. We first adjourned to the palace to examine some coins and medals relative to the history of Poland. The count of Mazinski, natural son of Augustus III. purchased the greatest part of this collection, and presented it to his present majesty. I shall not enter upon any account of the foreign coins and medals; but content myself with mentioning a few which relate to Poland.

The earliest coin is that of Boleslaus I. son of Micislaus, the first Polish prince converted to Christianity: this piece of money was struck in 999, probably soon after the introduction

troducton of coining into Poland. There was no head of the sovereign upon it, only the Polish eagle on one side, and a crown on the reverse. The series of coins is broken until Sigismund I. from whose accession it is continued in an uninterrupted line, Henry of Valois excepted; during whose short reign no money was struck in Poland. I noticed a curious piece of Albert of Brandenburg as duke of Prussia, after he had wrested that country from the Teutonic knights. The Prussian eagle is marked with an S, to shew that Albert held his lands as feudal and tributary to Sigismund I. There was a fine medal in honour of John Sobieski's raising the siege of Vienna, with the following punning inscription: *Urbem servastis et orbem*. I likewise observed a medal of his present majesty, cast in the late turbulent times; it had a well-executed likeness of the king on one side, and on the reverse an emblem of civil commotions, a ship in a storm with the classical allusion, *Ne cede malis*.

The public library next engaged our attention. The collection owes its beginning to the private bounty of two bishops of the family of Zaluski; the following inscription

is

is over the door; "*Civium usui perpetuo
"Zaluficorum par illustre dicavit 1714.*" It
has since received several large additions from
various benefactors; and contains 200,000
volumes. It is very rich in books and manu-
scripts relating to the Polish history.

I have only a few observations to make
upon the general state of literature in Poland,
my stay in this country not being long enough
to collect a more circumstantial account.

There are two universities, one at Cracow,
and the other at Vilna: the former was under
the direction of priests, called Academicians;
and the latter was superintended by the Je-
suits; but in both, the course of studies was
chiefly confined to theology. Since the sup-
pression of the Jesuits, the king has establish-
ed a committee of education, composed of
members distinguished either by high station,
or enlightened understandings. The com-
mittee has an absolute power in matters of
education; appoints professors; regulates their
salary; and directs their studies. The ad-
vantages of this regulation have already been
experienced.

Although from the nature of the govern-
ment learning has in no period been widely
diffused

diffused in Poland, yet there never have been wanting men of genius and literature, who have been an ornament to their country: and perhaps no nation can boast a more regular succession of excellent historians*; or a greater variety of writers deeply conversant in the laws, statutes, and constitution. Under Sigismund I. and his son Sigismund Augustus, the arts and sciences began to be greatly distinguished by royal patronage; they were cherished by some of the succeeding monarchs, particularly John Sobieski; but no prince has paid them more attention than the present king Stanislaus Augustus. His munificence in this particular has been attended with the happiest effects. The Polish literati have, within a few years, given to the public a much greater variety of elegant performances than ever appeared in any former period of the same length. What is more material, a taste for science has spread itself among the nobles, and begins to be regarded as an accomplishment. The enlargement of mind, derived by these licentious spirits from this new pursuit, has already weaned several of

* See p. 216.

them from their habits of barbarous turbulence, and greatly humanized their civil deportment. It may in time teach them thoroughly to comprehend the true interest of their country, and the expedience of due subordination, hitherto deemed incompatible with liberty: these petty despots will, perhaps, be induced to lay aside their impolitic contempt for their vassals; they will perceive that the burghers and peasants are the true supports of their country; and that Poland wants nothing but justice and order to become as flourishing as any of the neighbouring states.

During my continuance at Warsaw I visited the several prisons; and inquired into the nature of the various tribunals, and the different modes of punishment for criminal offences: the occasion of turning my particular observation to these objects was principally owing to a casual meeting I had at Vienna with the benevolent Mr. Howard, whose humane attention to the outcasts of society has reflected so much honour on himself and his country. Informing him that I was proceeding to the northern kingdoms, I intimated an intention to examine the state of the prisons and penal laws in those countries;

tries; and professed a readiness to lay before him the result of my observations. Mr. Howard approved my design, suggested several useful hints, and even dictated some specific questions tending greatly to facilitate my inquiries.

I shall not enter upon a description of the prisons in Warsaw, as they afforded scarcely any thing worthy of particular notice; I shall therefore confine myself to the general administration of justice:

Atrocious crimes, such as murder, &c. are punished by beheading or hanging; lesser delinquencies by whipping, hard labour, and imprisonment: the nobles never suffer any corporal punishment; but are liable only to imprisonment and death. Torture was abolished in 1776, by an edict of the diet, introduced by the influence of the king; a regulation as expressive of his majesty's judgment as of his benevolence. It is an infinite satisfaction to see the rights of humanity extending themselves in countries, where they had been but little known; a circumstance that must cast a great reflection on those nations which, like France, have attained the highest pitch of civilization, and yet re-

tain the useless and barbarous custom of torture*.

The defects of the police in this country are by no circumstances so strongly evinced, as by the frequent impunity of the most atrocious crimes: this abuse may be traced from the following causes. 1. The greatest criminals find at times little difficulty in engaging the protection of some of the principal nobles, who occasionally assemble their vassals and retainers in arms, and drive the officers of justice from their lands. This anarchy resembles the state of Europe in the 14th century, during the prevalence of the feudal laws; when every great baron possessed territorial jurisdiction, and was almost equal in authority to the king. 2. The law, esteemed by the Polish gentry the great bulwark of their liberty, which enacts †, that no gentleman can be arrested for misdemeanors until he is convicted of them, notwithstanding the strong-

* *La question preparatoire*, or the infliction of torture, for forcing the confession of a crime from an accused person, has indeed been lately abolished in France; but the torture used for the discovery of accomplices is still retained.

† *Neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum.*

est degree of presumptive proof: the offender, of course, if likely to be found guilty, takes care to withdraw himself before the completion of the process. Murder indeed, and robbery on the highway, and a few other capital crimes, are excluded from this privilege: but even in those flagrant enormities no gentleman can be taken into custody, unless actually apprehended in the commission of the offence. 3. The right which every town possesses of having its own criminal courts of justice, with judges selected solely from the inhabitants. Many of these towns are at present reduced to such a low state, as scarcely to deserve the name of villages: in these places, consequently, the judges are necessarily persons of the lowest description, and totally unqualified for the discharge of their high office. Innocence and guilt, by these means, are often not distinguished, and as often wantonly confounded. Not only the power of levying discretionary fines, but the infliction of corporal punishment, and even of death itself, is entrusted to these contemptible tribunals. The chancellor Zamoiski has, in the new code of laws which he is preparing for the inspection of the diet, described

the abuses of these petty courts of justice in the most forcible language; and proposes, as the only adequate remedy of the evil, to annihilate this right of penal jurisdiction in all but nine of the principal towns. 4. There are no public officers whose province it is to prosecute the offenders in the king's name. Hence, even in case of murder, robbery upon the highway, and the most atrocious crimes, the delinquent generally escapes, unless some individual indicts and brings him to trial: this seldom happens, as the process is attended with no small share of expence. The jurisdiction of the great marshal is almost the only exception to this flagrant defect of common justice. His jurisdiction is in force in the place where the king resides, and to the distance of three Polish miles. Within that district the great marshal can arrest and prosecute for crimes of felony without any plaintiff. In cases also of high treason, certain officers of the crown, called *instigatores*, are empowered by their own authority to cite suspicious persons before the diet. 5. The power which every plaintiff possesses of withdrawing his prosecution, even in cases of the greatest enormity: this custom screens all but

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the indigent from the pursuit of justice; as persons of moderate property are generally able to bribe the necessity or avarice of their accuser. This practice, founded on a narrow principle, that outrages against individuals are merely private, not public offences, is an instance of the grossest barbarism, which all civilized nations have renounced: for it requires a very small degree of legislative improvement to perceive; that private wrongs, when unchastized, become highly injurious to the community at large, by affording encouragement to similar offences.

In visiting the prisons I saw the bad effects of this usage exemplified in a striking instance. Two persons, indicted for the assassination of a Jew, had been permitted to remain in prison upwards of a twelvemonth, without being brought to a trial. The widow of the deceased, upon whose accusation they were imprisoned, having agreed, on the payment of a stipulated sum, to drop the suit and grant them a release, their inability to satisfy her demand had been the only reason for detaining them so long in confinement; when I saw them they had just raised the money, and were upon the point of obtaining a final discharge.

From this sketch of the administration of justice in this country, the expediency of a thorough reformation is very apparent. That able legislator count Zamoiski, in the new code of laws which I have frequently had occasion to mention, has paid particular attention to the amendment of the criminal laws. But as any innovations in the courts of justice, calculated to produce any essential benefit, must materially infringe the privileges of the nobles, and counteract the national prejudices; the most useful code can scarcely expect to receive the sanction of the diet.

The laws relating to debtors are as follow. The creditor proceeds against the debtor at his own expence; and, until the trial is finished, allows him eight groschens, or three half-pence, a day for his maintenance; when the debt is proved, the creditor is released from the above-mentioned contribution: the debtor continues in prison, at the discretion of his creditor, until the debt is discharged; and, if he has no means of subsistence, is obliged to maintain himself by working with the other delinquents in cutting wood, sawing stone, or cleaning the streets. In case a gentleman contracts a debt, an action lies against his lands and goods, and not against his

his person, unless he gives a note of hand with a double signature, one intended as an ascertainment of the debt, the other as a renunciation of his exemption from arrests; but a noble of high distinction, even though he should bind himself by this engagement, can bid defiance to all danger of imprisonment.

C H A P. VI.

Departure from Warsaw. — Biallistock. — Entertainment at the countess of Braniski's palace. — Duchy of Lithuania. — Its union with Poland. — Description of Grodno. — Diets. — Physic garden. — General productions of Lithuania. — Account of the Wild-ox. — Of the Remiz and its pendent nest. — Manufactures. — Entertainments. — Hospitality of the Poles. — Election-dinner, and ball.

BEFORE we quitted Warsaw, we were honoured with another instance of his majesty's wonderful condescension, a letter written with his own hand to the post-master at Grodno, ordering that we should be supplied with every accommodation which could be procured; and that we should be permitted to visit the manufactures and every object of curiosity.

We quitted the capital on the 10th of August, crossed the Vistula, and passed through the suburbs of Praga. About an English mile from Warsaw a forest begins; and continues, with little interruption, to the distance of
 eighteen

eighteen miles. At Wengrow we observed a fine corps of Russian troops quartered in the village. Some of the places in our route, though extremely wretched, enjoyed their own police and courts of justice; they consisted of wooden huts, mostly thatched, some roofed with wood, and a few with tiles. The country was chiefly sandy and level until we arrived at the Bog, which we crossed at Gran: the river was broad and shallow. We ascended from its banks a small rise; and found a better soil, and the country more diversified. The road was not unpleasant, running through fields sown with different species of corn, hemp, and flax; but we never lost sight of the forest, and always saw it skirting the horizon. In many places I observed the wood encroaching upon the fields, and young trees shooting up in great numbers wherever cultivation had been neglected. I was informed that this is the case in most parts of Poland; many traces of former enclosures, and even the vestiges of paved streets, being discernible in the center of the forests.

The largest place we passed through was Bielsk, capital of the palatinate of Podlachia, where the dietine for the district is held: it is little better than a miserable village, though
called,

called, in the geographical descriptions of Poland, a large town. Between Bielsk and Woytzi, our wheel was nearly taking fire; and while we stopped at a small village to have it greased, I entered several cottages, which I found infinitely worse even than those wretched dwellings which I had before examined in the towns where the inhabitants were more free; in the latter we observed furniture and some conveniences; in these nothing but the bare walls. The peasants were perfect slaves, and their habitations and appearance corresponded with their miserable situation: I could scarcely have figured to myself such objects of poverty and misery. The country we traversed from Warsaw to Biallistock was in general sandy; but in some places the soil was very rich. All parts were fit for cultivation; and many spots had the appearance of great fertility. We remarked, however, that the harvest, even in the most fruitful tracts, was but indifferent; a circumstance evidently owing to the defect in husbandry.

We arrived late in the evening at Biallistock, a very neat and well-built town. The streets were broad, and the houses, which were in general plastered, stood detached from each

each other at uniform distances. The superior neatness of Biallistock is owing to the illustrious family of Braniski, whose palace stands close to the town, and who have contributed to ornament their place of residence. It belongs to the countess Braniski, sister of the present king, and widow of the late great general Braniski; who, notwithstanding this alliance, warmly protested against the election of his present majesty.

The morning after our arrival, the countess, to whom we had a letter from prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, honoured us with a most polite invitation to dinner; and sent her carriage to convey us to the palace. We were most politely received by our noble hostess; and were convinced from her amiable manners, condescending behaviour, and lively flow of conversation, that affability and good sense are natural to the family of Poniatowski.

We found a large company assembled at table, whom the countess had invited to partake of her hospitable board, which was elegantly supplied with every delicacy. Among other topics, the conversation turned upon our mode of travelling through a country so poor and wretched, and so deficient in comfortable accommodations. "I suppose," said a Polish gentleman,

gentleman, "you carry your beds with you;" to which we replied in the negative. "How do you sleep then?"—"Upon straw, when we can get it; and, when we are not so fortunate, upon the floor, upon a bench, or upon a table."—"You take your provisions," returned the Pole.—"Very seldom."—"How do you live then?"—"Upon what we can procure: one of our servants is sent before; and generally contrives to obtain some kind of provision, which may soothe, if not satisfy, the demands of hunger; but we have travelling appetites, and are not fastidious."—"You are not, however, without knives, forks, and spoons; for such conveniences are not known among the peasants."—"We each of us carry a clasp-knife; are now and then so fortunate as to meet with a wooden spoon; and never regret the want of a fork." Here our noble hostess made a proposal to supply us with knives, forks, and spoons, together with wine and provision: upon our declining this offer, she pleasantly replied, "Perhaps you are above accepting them; I know the English are very haughty; will you purchase them?" We made answer, that we were not afraid of laying ourselves under

under any obligations to a person of her politeness and generosity; but that the object of our travels was to gratify curiosity rather than appetite; and that we thought ourselves most likely to become acquainted with the domestic œconomy of the peasants, by partaking of their accommodations, and by relying on them for the supply of our wants. Willing, however, not to appear rude in a rejection of the whole offer, we accepted a few bottles of wine.

The countess did us the honour to conduct us herself through the apartments of the palace, which is a large building in the Italian taste; and, on account of its grandeur and magnificence, generally called the Versailles of Poland. It was formerly only a royal hunting seat; John Casimir gave it, together with Biallistock and other estates, to Czarnieski, a general highly distinguished by his victories over the Swedes at the time that Poland was nearly crushed by her enemies. Among the curiosities preserved in the palace is a golden cup, which Czarnieski was accustomed to wear fastened to his girdle; and an embroidered sash which he took among the spoils after a defeat of Charles X. and supposed to belong to that monarch. Czarnieski

nieski left one daughter, who married Braniski the father of the late great general, by which marriage the estate came into that family. There is one apartment which Augustus III. used to occupy whenever he passed this way to the diet of Grodno; and which, out of respect to the memory of their late sovereign, is left in its original state. In another room is a fine portrait of Augustus in his royal robes, with his head shaved in the Polish fashion, as he appeared on the day of his coronation. In the afternoon we drove about the park and grounds, which are very extensive, and elegantly laid out in the English taste.

We closed this agreeable day with a supper at the palace, and took leave, with regret, of its amiable and noble mistress.

August 13. We set off early from Bialistock: for some way we traversed a continued forest; afterwards the country became more open, abounding with corn and pasture; the towns and villages were long and straggling; all the houses, and even the churches, of wood; crowds of beggars surrounded our carriage whenever we stopped; Jews made their appearance without end. About four we arrived at Grodno; we first passed through some

some wretched suburbs inhabited by Jews, and ferried over the Niemen, which is broad, clear, and shallow, ascended the rising banks, and came to the town, which is built upon an eminence overlooking the river.

Though Vilna is the capital, yet Grodno is esteemed the principal town in Lithuania.

Formerly Lithuania was entirely unconnected with Poland, and was governed by its own sovereigns under the title of great-dukes. From that rivalry which usually subsists between contiguous states; the two nations were engaged in a series of perpetual wars, until 1386; when the great-duke Ladislaus Jaghelon, having espoused Hedwige and embraced the Christian religion, was raised to the Polish throne, and reigned over both countries.

Ladislaus soon became so sincere a convert to the new religion, which he at first adopted from interested views; that he endeavoured to propagate its doctrines among his idolatrous subjects in Lithuania. In subserviency to this great work, he ordered the hallowed groves to be cut down, the oracular shrine to be destroyed, the sacred fire to be extinguished, and the serpents worshipped as Gods by his superstitious subjects to be slain. A belief universally prevailed among the people, that
whoever

whoever profanely attempted to destroy these objects of their worship, would be struck with instantaneons death: when the falsity of this tradition was proved by the impunity of those concerned in the supposed sacrilege, the Lithuanians flocked in such crouds to be converted, that the priests could only bestow separate baptism on persons of distinction; but distributed the multitude in ranks, and, sprinkling them with water, gave one Christian name to each rank without distinction of sex*. Ladislaus, having thus introduced the Christian religion into Lithuania, nominated his brother Casimir Skirgello governor of that duchy, and returned to Poland; but a civil war being excited by the ambition of Alexander, surnamed Vitoldus, and by the discontents of

* “Ægrè gens barbara majorum suorum religiones relinquebat. Sed cum jussu regis sacer ignis extinctus, templum araque ejus diruta & adytum, unde oracula à sacerdote edebantur, eversum Vilnæ esset, necatque serpentes, & succisi luci nulla cujusquam læsione,” &c. &c.

“Sed cum immensi laboris esset singulos sacro fonte tingere, nobilioribus tantum hic honor habitus: reliquum verò vulgus turmatim distributum, aquâ lustrali sive sacrâ à sacerdotibus conspersum est, unumque nomen cuique turmæ tam virorum quàm mulierum inditum.” Cromer, p. 368.

the

the people, still attached to their Pagan rites, Lithuania was for some time a scene of tumult and hostility. At length, by a compromise in 1392, Vitoldus was appointed great-duke; and Ladislaus contented himself with a nominal sovereignty.

In 1401 the nobles of Lithuania assembled at Vilna; and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the king and republic of Poland. In 1413 it was stipulated, in a diet of Poles and Lithuanians held in the town of Hrodlo; that, upon the demise of Vitoldus, the Lithuanians should acknowledge no other great-duke but the person who should be appointed by the king, and with the agreement of the two nations; that, in case Ladislaus died without issue, the Poles should elect no king without the consent of Vitoldus and the Lithuanians; and that a diet, composed of representatives from both nations, should meet whenever it was thought necessary, at Lublin or Parzow*. From the demise of Vitoldus, who expired in 1439 in the 80th year of his age, the great-dukes were sometimes, in conformity to this compact, nominated by the kings of Poland;

* Dlugoffius & Cromer.

at other times, in violation of it, by the Lithuanians. At length Sigismond I. fortunately united in his person the two sovereignties, and was succeeded in both by his son Sigismond Augustus.

Hitherto the connection between the two nations had been more an alliance than an union; but Sigismond Augustus having no children, and being the only surviving male heir of the Jaghellon family, planned the union of Poland and Lithuania, lest upon his decease the connection should be dissolved, and the two nations be again governed by different princes. After some difficulties, and being once frustrated in his attempt, he obtained, from a general diet held at Lublin in 1569, that Poland and Lithuania should from henceforth be united and considered as one nation; that one sovereign should be chosen conjointly by both people; that the Lithuanians should send nuntios to the general diet, be admitted into the senate, and have an equal share in the public honours and employments; that no alliance should be made with foreign powers, and no embassadors dispatched without the consent of both parties; that the same money should pass current in both countries; in short, that they should have no distinction

of privilege or interest. Upon the ratification of this union, Sigismund Augustus renounced all hereditary right to Lithuania. From this period the same person has been uniformly elected king of Poland and great-duke of Lithuania; and the two nations have been incorporated into one republic*.

Grodno is a large and straggling place, but contains no more than 3,000 Christians, excluding the persons employed in the manufactures, and 1,000 Jews. It has greatly the appearance of a town in decline; containing a mixture of wretched hovels, falling houses, and ruined palaces, with magnificent gateways, remains of its ancient splendour. A few habitations in good repair make the contrast more striking.

The old palace, in which the kings used to reside during the diets, stood upon an hill of sand rising abruptly from the river, and forming part of its bank: some remains of the ancient walls still exist. Opposite to this hill is the new palace, built, but never inhabited, by Augustus III. as it was not finished at the time of his death. In this palace are the apartments wherein the diets

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 30 to 33.

are held, or rather will be held if they are ever again summoned to Grodno. According to the treaty of Hrodlo; Lublin, or Parzow, or any other more commodious town, was appointed for the meeting of the Polish and Lithuanian deputies; but in the articles of union it was stipulated, that Warsaw should be the place where the representatives of the two nations were to assemble*. In 1673, as I have already observed, it was enacted, that every third diet should be held at Grodno; and, in conformity to this law, the first national assembly was convened here in 1678 under John Sobieski. But when the next turn of Grodno arrived, that monarch summoned the diet to Warsaw: the Lithuanians strongly opposed this infringement of their rights; and their deputies, instead of proceeding to Warsaw, where the king, senate, and nuntios of Poland were met, repaired to this town, and formed a separate diet. In order to prevent a civil war, which this division might occasion, a negotiation took place; and it was at length settled, that the diet of 1673 should assemble at Warsaw, but be called the diet of Grodno, and that

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 315, &c.

the marshal should be chosen from the Lithuanian nuntios *. From that time the diets have been occasionally summoned to Grodno; until the reign of his present majesty, when they have been uniformly held at Warsaw; and this innovation has been tacitly agreed to by the Lithuanians, on account of the distance of this town from the royal residence, as well as in consideration of the troubles which convulsed the country.

We carried a letter of recommendation to Mr. Gillibert, a French naturalist of great learning and abilities, who has the superintendence of the college and physic garden. The king of Poland has established in this place a Royal Academy of Physic for Lithuania, in which ten students are instructed in physic, and twenty in surgery. They are all lodged, boarded, and taught at his majesty's expence: an institution that reflects the highest honour upon the king; and which has greatly flourished under the royal patronage and protection. The physic garden, which did not exist in 1776, made, when I passed through the town in 1778, a very respectable appearance; which was entirely owing

* Vie de Sobieski, p. 19.

to Mr. Gillibert's attention and care. It contained 1,500 exotics, amongst which were several delicate American plants sown in the open air, and which thrived remarkably well in this climate. Mr. Gillibert told me, that he had discovered 200 species of plants in Lithuania, which were only thought indigenous in Siberia, Tartary, and Sweden; and that in the whole duchy he had observed 980 species, exclusive of the sorts common to most countries in Europe.

Mr. Gillibert had lately formed a small collection, chiefly consisting of the productions of Lithuania; and was employed in arranging materials for a natural history of this duchy: he proposes to begin his publications upon that subject with a *Flora Lithuanica*; which will be successively followed by an account of the mineralogy, insects, quadrupeds, and birds. Considering the infant state of natural knowledge in this country, the design will require great length of time and perseverance before it is completed; but there is nothing which assiduity and attention may not effect.

The animals roving in the boundless forests of Lithuania are the bear, the wolf, the elk, the wild-ox, the lynx, the beaver, the glouton, the wild-cat, &c.

At

At Grodno I had an opportunity of seeing a female of the wild-ox, probably the same quadruped which is described by Aristotle under the name of *Bonafus*, styled *Urus* in the Commentaries of Cæsar, and called *Bison* by some naturalists. That which fell under my observation was not full grown, about the size of a common English cow, shaped like a buffalo, but without the protuberance over its shoulders: its neck was high and thick, and covered with long hair, or mane, which fringed down the throat and breast, and hung almost to the ground, somewhat resembling that of an old lion: the forehead was narrow, with two horns turning inwards*, and the tongue of a bluish colour. The male, as we were informed, is sometimes six feet in height, and is more fierce and shaggy than the female.

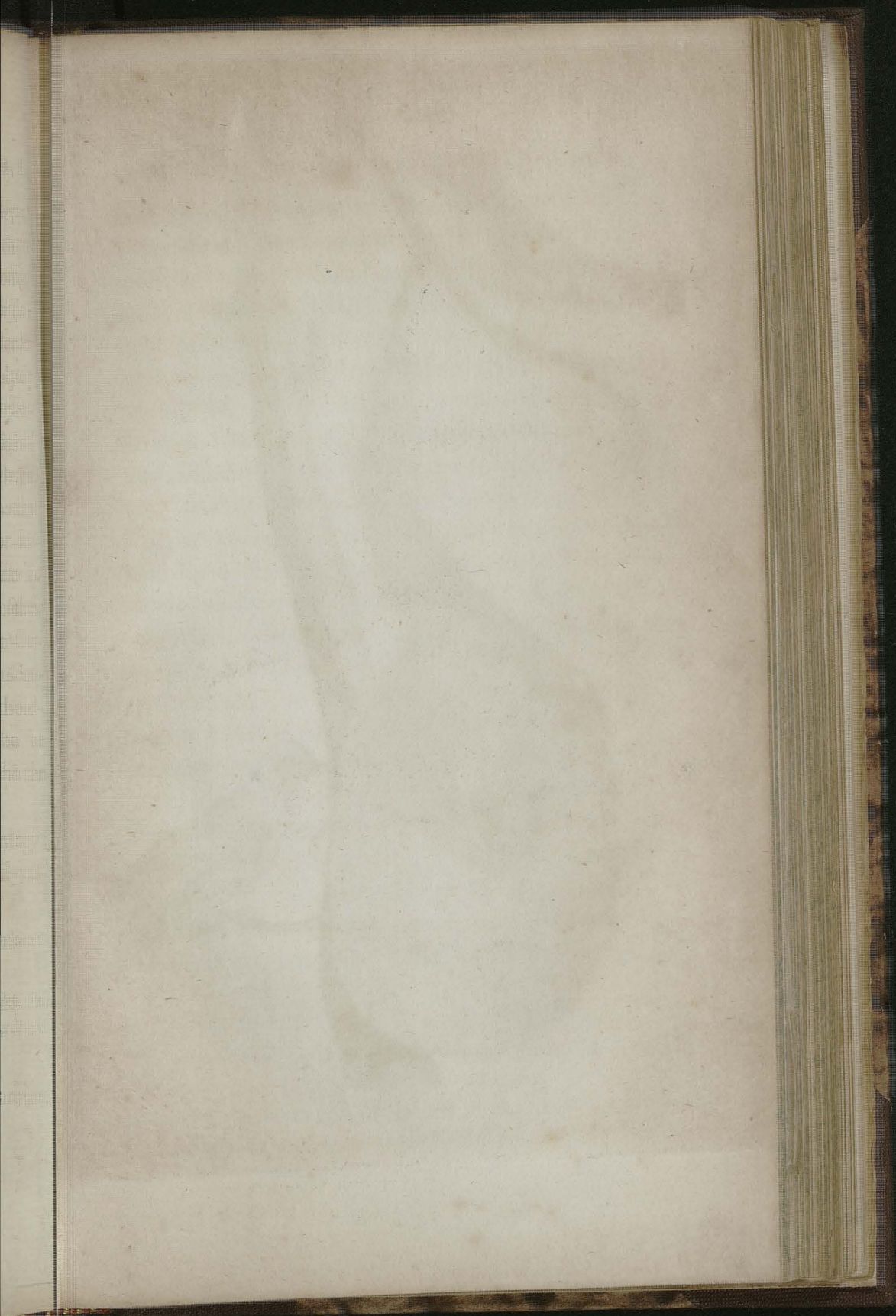
* Aristotle describes the horns of the *Bonafus* as γαμψα και κεκαμμενα προς αλληλα, "crooked and bending towards each other." A circumstance which seems to have puzzled commentators upon Aristotle, who did not consider that the figure of the horns varies exceedingly in the same species, in a wild or tame state, and cannot be admitted as forming a specific difference. See Arist. Hist. Anim. L. IX. c. 45. also Camus Hist. des Animaux, cited in Maty's Review for April, 1783, p. 313.

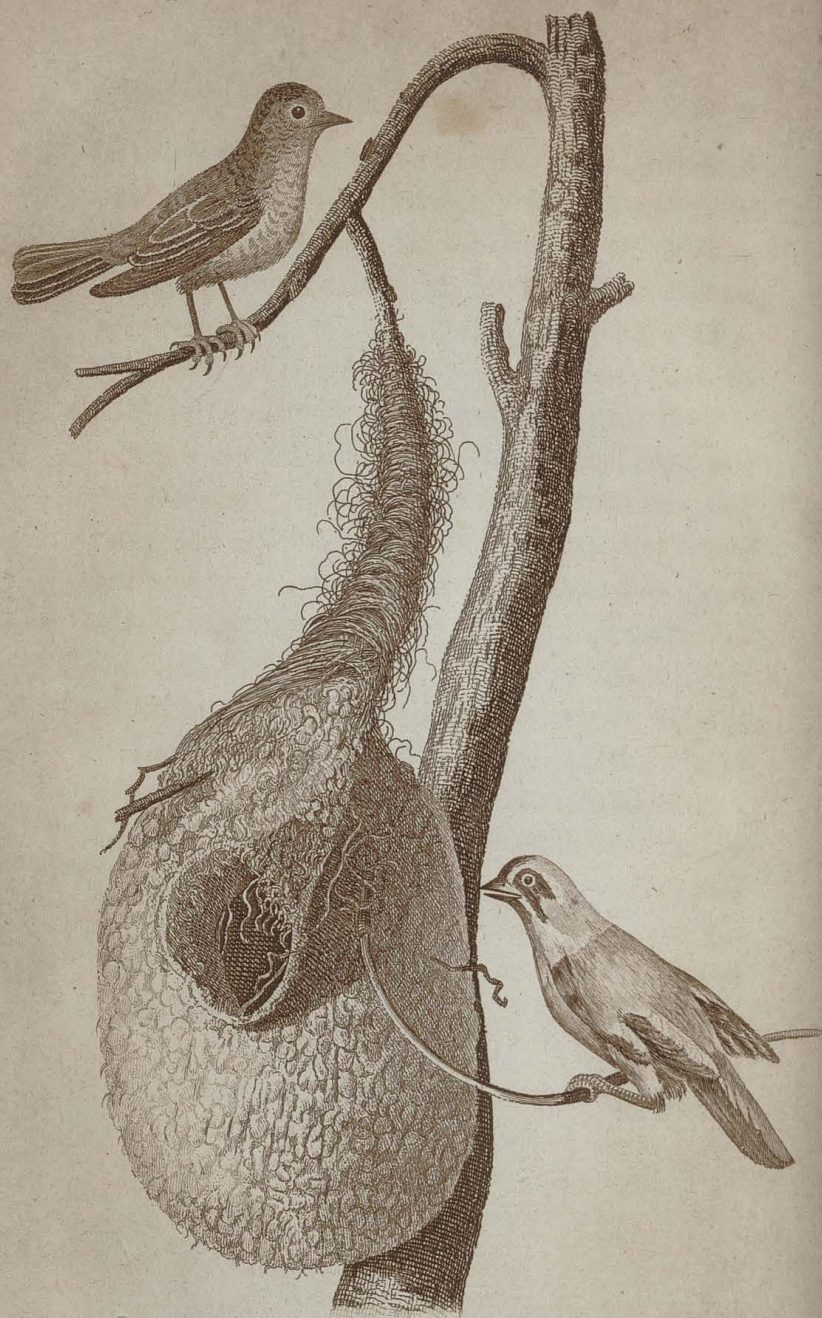
Linnaeus has classed the *Bonafus*, the *Urus*, and the *Bifon* (probably the same animal with different names) under three species; Buffon reduces them to two, the *Urus* and the *Bifon*; and Pennant has comprised them all under one species*. His opinion has been lately adopted by Pallas, in a very curious dissertation published in the Acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg. That celebrated naturalist informs us, that this species of the wild-ox, which was formerly very common in Europe, exists no where in that continent, except in these Lithuanian forests, in some parts of the Carpathian mountains, and perhaps of the Caucasus. He agrees also with Buffon, in holding the *bifon* or wild-ox of America to be only a variety of the *urus* changed by the climate†.

Lithuania is very rich in ornithology: among the birds of prey the eagle and vul-

* Systema Naturæ. Buffon's Hist. Nat. Pennant's Hist. of Quad. p. 15.

† Sur le Buffle à Queue de cheval in Nov. Act. Pet. 1771. Part II. p. 232, &c. Also in his Neue Nord. Beytrage, p. 2.





MALE and FEMALE REMIZ; or PENDULINE TITMOUSE.

Published according to Act of Parliament, January 1. 1784. by T. Cadell, in the Strand.

ture are very common. The *Remiz* * or little species of titmouse, called *Parus Pendulinus*, is not unfrequently found in these parts. The wondrous structure of its pendent nest induced me to give an engraving of both that and the birds themselves. They are of the smallest species of titmice. The head is of a very pale bluish ash-colour; the forepart of the neck and the breast tinged with red; the belly white; wings black; back and rump of a yellowish rust-colour; quill-feathers cinereous, with the exterior sides white; the tail rust-coloured. The male is singularly distinguished from the female by a pair of black-pointed whiskers.

Its nest is in the shape of a long purse, which it forms with amazing art, by interweaving down, goss-a-mer, and minute fibres, in a close and compact manner, and then lining the inside with down alone, so as to make a snug and warm lodge for its young brood. The entrance is at the side, small and round, with its edge more strongly marked than the rest of this curious fabric: the

* I am indebted to that able naturalist, Mr. Pennant, for this description of the *Remiz*, and for the annexed plate.

bird, attentive to the preservation of its eggs and nestlings from noxious animals, suspends it at the lesser end to the extremity of the slender twigs of a willow, or some other tree, over a river. Contrary to the custom of titmice, it lays only four or five eggs: possibly Providence hath ordained this scantiness of eggs to the *Remiz*; because by the singular instinct imparted to this bird, it is enabled to secure its young much more effectually from destruction, than the other species, which are very prolific.

Mr. Gillibert acquainted me that a great quantity of yellow amber is frequently dug up in the Lithuanian forests; and that it is probably the production of a small resinous pine*. He informed me that the duchy
abounds

* Naturalists have long differed concerning the origin of amber. Some maintain it to be an animal substance; others class it among the minerals; some assert, that it is a vegetable oil united with a mineral acid; but the most common opinion seems to be that it is a fossil bitumen. A few, with Mr. Gillibert, hold it to be the resinous juice of a pine hardened by age: this latter opinion was also maintained by the ancient Romans. Amber is most usually found upon the sea-coast, and though frequently discovered several feet beneath the surface of the ground, yet has been supposed to have never been dug up at any considerable
distance

abounds in iron ochre, called by Linnæus *Tophus humoso ochraceus*, and described by Wallerius * under the article of *Ferrum limosum*, which produces forty pounds of metal in an hundred weight; that it yields also several species of copper and iron pyrites; black agate, which always bears a resemblance to the roots of pines †; detached masses of red
and

distance from the sea; a circumstance which has led several naturalists to conjecture, that it owes, in a great measure, its production to the sea. But this hypothesis is confuted by the discovery of these large pieces of amber in the heart of the Lithuanian forests far from any sea. See Plin. Hist. Nat. L. 37. Sec. XI. Tacitus de Mor. Germ. Macquaire's Chymistry, v. II. p. 206. Bishop of Landaff's (Dr. Watson) Essays on Chym. v. III. p. 12. and particularly Wallerius Syst. Min. v. II. p. 115—117. where the reader will find a list of the principal naturalists, who have written upon Amber.

* Wallerius Syst. Min. v. II. p. 255.

† Mr. Gillibert thus describes these agates in the Acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. " Mr. Gillibert
" dans une lettre à Mr. le Professeur Pallas, parle d'une
" pétrification très remarquable, commune dans ce pays
" [Lithuania], laquelle est agathe par sa nature, mais re-
" semble parfaitement par sa forme, à des racines de sapins
" pétrifiées. Les racines agatisées sont bandées de noir
" autour de leur axe, et incrustées d'une écorce grise ou
" blanchâtre. On en trouve à demi pétrifiées; et toutes
" donnent une odeur empyreumatique au feu, qui provient
" d'un

and grey granite; pudding stones, containing chrystals of white quartz; the *echinus* agatized; a large quantity of false precious stones, such as amethysts, topazes, garnets, also chalcedonies, cornelians, milky agates, the *oculus catti*, or cat's eye, jaspers, and particularly the red species. He added, that Lithuania was extremely rich in marine petrifications, and chiefly in those which are common in the Baltic: of these the madre-pores are the most numerous; and amongst others the *Corallinum Gothlandicum* is not uncommon, which is described in the first volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ* * as extremely rare.

The next morning we visited the manufactures established by the king in 1776. They were carrying on in wooden sheds, built by Augustus III. for stables, which had been converted into temporary working looms, and dwelling houses for the accommodation of the manufacturers: it was expected that the

“ d'un reste de principe bitumeneux. D'Ailleurs toutes
 “ les petrifications d'origine marine se trouvent agatifiées
 “ dans ce pays couvert d'un sable fin, dont les eaux peu-
 “ vent extraire un principe pétifiant de cette nature.”
 Nov. Act. Acad. Pet. for 1777, p. 45.

* P, 211.

whole establishment would be soon removed to Loffona, a village near Grodno, where convenient buildings, constructing at his majesty's expence, were nearly finished for that purpose. The principal manufactures are cloth and camlets, linen and cottons, silk stuffs, embroidery, silk stockings, hats, lace, fire arms, needles, cards, bleaching wax, and carriages. The country furnishes sufficient wool, flax, hemp, beavers hair, and wax for the supply of the manufactures which employ those commodities; but the silk, cotton, iron, colours, gold and silver for the embroidery, and fine thread from Brussels for the lace, are imported.

These manufactures employ 3,000 persons, including those dispersed in the contiguous villages, who spin linen and worsted thread. There are seventy foreigners, who direct the different branches; the rest are natives belonging to the king's demesnes. The apprentices are boys and girls, all children of Polish peasants, who are clothed and fed, and have besides a small allowance in money. The directors complain that there is no emulation among them; and that, although they are better fed and clothed than the other peasants, yet they cannot excite them to industry

dustry by any other means than force. Nor is this a matter of wonder; for they still continue in a state of servitude, and are apprehensive, if they should acquire any unusual profit, and carry it to their parents, it would be taken away: and it has frequently happened, that any little pittance, they had gained by their labour, has been wrested from them, in order to pay the quit-rents which their parents owed to their lords. One of these apprentices, more shrewd than the rest, said to the director, who was trying to stimulate her industry, "What advantage shall I obtain if I follow your advice? let me become ever so skilful in my trade, I shall always continue subject to my master: the labour will be mine, and the profits his." To which observation no answer could be given. Most of them appeared with such a settled melancholy in their countenances, as made my heart ache to see them: and it was evident that they worked from compulsion, and not from inclination. As some remedy to this evil, it has been proposed, after a certain term of years, to give liberty to those who particularly excel, and distinguish themselves by any extraordinary exertions. But this humane proposal has been rejected, from a notion

notion that such persons, when once made free, would no longer continue to work; and that by these means the manufactures would be deprived of the best hands. Though this inconvenience might occasionally take place; yet the encouragement of such a regulation would beget alacrity and excite industry, and would therefore create a greater number of artists than it would emancipate. It might now and then occasion the loss of a manufacturer; but would diffuse such a knowledge of the manufacture, as to render the loss immaterial.

These manufactures are still in their infancy, but their institution reflects a considerable lustre upon his majesty's reign; and more particularly as his attention was not withdrawn from them during the civil convulsions which so lately shook his throne.

On the first evening of our arrival at Grodno, a Polish nobleman, to whom we were introduced by Mr. Gillibert, invited us to supper with such frankness and cordiality, that it would have been rudeness not to have accepted the invitation. After an hour's conversation, he consigned us to the care of his wife, and retired; nor did he again make
his

his appearance the whole evening. This seeming inattention, so contrary to the politeness of the invitation, occasioned at first some surprize; but we afterwards found, that good manners equally directed his behaviour in both these instances. Having before our arrival invited some Polish gentlemen to sup with him, who could not converse in French, and who drank freely; he thought justly enough that we should pass a more agreeable evening with the ladies. We had a small party at supper, which was cheerful and agreeable; for the Poles are a very lively people, and the women in general amiable and well-bred.

We dined the following day with count Tyssenhausen vice-chancellor of Lithuania: it was an election-dinner previous to the dietine, which was to assemble at Grodno, in order to chuse the representatives of this district for the approaching diet. There were eighty nobles at table, all, a few excepted, in their national drefs, and with their heads shaved in the Polish fashion. Before dinner they saluted the count with great respect, some kissing the hem of his garment, others stooping down and embracing his legs. Two ladies

ladies were at table, and, as strangers, we had the post of honour assigned to us, and were seated by them. It was my good fortune to sit next to one who was uncommonly entertaining and agreeable, and never suffered the conversation to flag. After dinner several toasts went round:—the king of Poland—the diet—the ladies who were present—a good journey to us, &c. The master of the feast named the toast, filled a large glass, drank it, turned it down to shew that it was empty, and then passed it to his next neighbour; from whom it was circulated in succession, and with the same ceremonies through the whole company. The wine was champagne, the glass large, and the toasts numerous: but there was no obligation, after the first round, to fill the glass; it was only necessary to pour in a small quantity and pass the toast. As it is esteemed a kind of hospitality in Poland to circulate the wine freely among the guests; my fair neighbour, when it was my turn to drink her health, proposed that I should fill a bumper. Though I had already drank one in honour of his majesty, and would willingly have declined another, I could not disobey the orders of an agreeable

woman; and did the same homage to beauty that I had before paid to royalty. The next turn was the health of the other lady, which my fair neighbour urged me to do justice to in the same manner; but I excused myself by intimating, that she alone was deserving of such a tribute.

In the evening the count gave us a ball concluded by an elegant supper. The ball was lively and agreeable. The company amused themselves with Polish and English country dances: the former were simple, but not deficient in grace, accompanied by a most pleasing air: the company stood in pairs; the first man led his partner round the room in a kind of step not much unlike that of a minuet, he then quitted her hand, made a small circle, joined hands again, and repeated the same movements until the conclusion. The second couple began as soon as the first had advanced a few steps, and was quickly followed by the remainder, so that all the parties glided after one another at the same time. The Poles are very fond of this dance: although it has little variety, they continued it for half an hour without intermission, and frequently renewed it during
the

the course of the evening. The intervals between this national dance were filled with English country dances, which they performed with equal expertness, and with no less delight. An elegant supper, to which only a select party was invited, agreeably concluded the entertainment of the day.

The count politely pressed us to continue some time at Grodno, and to take up our abode in his house; but as we were desirous of arriving at Petersburg before the commencement of the winter, we declined the invitation, which we should otherwise have accepted with the greatest pleasure. Some of the company, however, had kindly endeavoured to detain us by the following stratagem: they privately desired the coach-maker employed in mending our carriage to execute the commission in a dilatory manner; and although we had accidentally discovered this project, yet it was not without the most urgent remonstrances that we obtained the necessary repairs. In order to spare our acquaintance the trouble of making, and ourselves the pain of rejecting, any further solicitations; we thought it most expedient to steal away in the night without apprising any one of our design.

It was our intention to have gone to Vilna ; but as this was the time of electing nuntios, the postmaster informed us, that for want of horses we should be delayed upon the road at some wretched village without a possibility of proceeding : we therefore, very unwillingly, and to our great disappointment, altered our route, as we wished much to have visited the capital of Lithuania.

C H A P. VII.

Continuation of the tour through the duchy of Lithuania.—Number of Jews.—Badness of the roads and want of accommodations.—Close of the dietine at Minsk.—Poverty and wretchedness of the natives.—Comparative view of the Swiss and Polish peasants.—Remarks on the Plica Polonica.

IN our route through Lithuania we could not avoid being struck with the swarms of Jews, who, though very numerous in every other part of Poland, seem to have fixed their head-quarters in this duchy. If you ask for an interpreter, they bring you a Jew; if you come to an inn, the landlord is a Jew; if you want post-horses, a Jew procures them, and a Jew drives them; if you wish to purchase, a Jew is your agent: and this perhaps is the only country in Europe where Jews cultivate the ground; in passing through Lithuania, we frequently saw them engaged in sowing, reaping, mowing, and other works of husbandry.

The roads in Lithuania are entirely neglected, being little better than by-paths

winding through the thick forest without the least degree of artificial direction: they are frequently so narrow as scarcely to admit a carriage; are continually obstructed by stumps and roots of trees, and are in many parts so exceedingly sandy, that eight small horses could scarcely drag us along. The postilions were frequently boys of ten or twelve years of age, hardy lads, who rode posts of twenty and even thirty English miles without a saddle, and with hardly any covering except a shirt and a pair of linen drawers. The bridges across the rivulets were so weakly constructed and so old, that they seemed ready to crack with the weight of the carriage; and we thought ourselves fortunate in getting over them without an accident.

Some travellers have remarked, that the forests, through which our route lay, are set on fire by lightning or other natural causes, and blaze for a considerable time. At first we conceived this representation to be well-founded, as we discovered in many parts evident traces of extensive conflagrations. Upon inquiry, however, we were informed, that the peasants, being obliged annually to furnish their landlords with a certain quantity of turpentine, set fire to the trunks of the pines while

while standing, and catch it as it oozes from the stems. We could observe few trees without marks of fire upon them: some were quite black, and nearly charred to cinder; some half-burnt; others considerably scorched, but continuing to vegetate.

August 15. After twenty hours incessant travelling we arrived late in the evening at Bielitz, which is distant about ninety English miles from Grodno; and set out before day-break, anxious to reach Minsk on the morning of the 17th, when a dietine for the election of nuntios was to be assembled. We stopped a short time at Novogrodec, which is all built of wood, except two or three ruinous brick-houses, a convent that belonged to the Jesuits, and some mouldering stone-walls surrounding a small eminence, upon which are the remains of an old citadel. Near Novogrodec we passed a large number of barrows, which the peasants call Swedish burying-places. In this part the country was less sandy, of a richer soil, and somewhat diversified with hill and dale: the solitary extent of the forests was more than usually interspersed with villages and dotted with fields of pasture, in which we observed numerous herds of cattle.

Upon our arrival at the small village of Mir, we found that our original intention of reaching Minsk by the next morning was scarcely practicable, even if we continued our journey during the night. The distance was between sixty and seventy miles; the night extremely dark; the roads bad; and, we were informed, that in some places we should be obliged to cross several bridges not very passable even in the day without the utmost circumspection. Our desire therefore of being present at the election of nuntios gave way to these suggestions; and we sacrificed the gratification of our curiosity to the considerations of personal safety. The pleasures of Mir certainly offered no inducement for delay: the poverty of the inhabitants denied a scanty supply of the most ordinary refreshments; the highest entertainment which the place afforded being a suspension of the dangers of travelling, and the sum of our comforts an intermission of fatigue.

The badness of our accommodations at Mir led us to consider Minsk (where we arrived on the evening of the 17th) as the seat of taste and luxury. We there experienced comforts to which we had lately been strangers; a neat white-washed room with a
brick

brick floor, no fleas or flies, plenty of clean straw, good bread, and fresh meat. After a refreshing night's rest, we sallied forth the next morning to the refectory of the Jesuits monastery, the place where the nuntios had been chosen the preceding day. We had some difficulty in gaining admittance; until a person, who appeared to be a man of consequence, inquired in the German language our country and our business. Upon our answering that we were three English gentlemen, desirous of seeing every thing worthy of observation, he expressed much surprize at the plainness of our dresses, particularly at our want of swords. "In Poland," he said, "every gentleman wears his sabre as a badge of his rank, never appearing in public without it; and I advise you to observe this custom as long as you continue in this country, if you wish to be considered as gentlemen." Thanking him for his advice, we accompanied him into the refectory, where we found the majority of the dietine still assembled, though not upon national business; in plain English, they were engaged in drinking, a no less essential appendage of a Polish than a British election. One person, whom they seemed to
treat

treat with deference, was constantly employed in delivering drams to the electors, who were standing in different parts of the room: many ceremonies passed at every circulation of the glass; they touched their breasts, stooped towards the ground, and drank the nuntios' and each other's health with great solemnity. Several of the Polish gentlemen conversed with me in Latin: they informed me, that every palatinate is divided into a certain number of districts; and that each district chuses two nuntios. I asked whether the election of the district of Minsk had been contested; they told me, that three candidates had offered themselves. I then inquired whether the elected nuntios were of the king's party; and they answered, "We have in this instance complied with his majesty's recommendation." — "You have acted," I replied, "with great propriety: is he not a good prince?" — "A good prince!" returned the Poles, "yes, the most excellent that ever filled a throne."

Minsk is a large place: two churches and the monastery which belonged to the Jesuits are constructed of brick; and the remaining buildings, though of wood, have a neater look than the generality of dwellings in this country.

C.7. JOURNEY THROUGH LITHUANIA. 299

country. On returning to our inn, we received an invitation to dinner from a Polish count; but as the weather appeared fine, as our carriage was at the door, and all things prepared for our immediate departure, we determined to give up an opportunity of social enjoyment to the expediency of pursuing our journey.

August 18. We were considerably fatigued with our journey from Minsk to Smolewitzo, which, though scarcely thirty miles, employed us, on account of the badness of the roads and other unexpected delays, near twelve hours. The weather was cold and rainy, the wind high, the roads worse than usual; and the evening proved extremely dark. We were almost beginning to despair of reaching our destined station; when a noise of folding doors thrown open, and the rattling of our carriage upon a wooden floor, announced our actual arrival. The leathern blinds of our carriage having been closely fastened down, in order to exclude the wind and rain, we were for a few moments held in suspense into what kind of place we were admitted. Upon alighting, we found ourselves in the middle of a large barn or shed, at the further end of which we descried two large pines,
with

with all their branches, in full blaze upon an hearth without a chimney: round it several figures, in full black robes and with long beards, were employed in stirring a great cauldron suspended over the flame. A belief in witchcraft, or a little superstition, might easily have represented this party as a group of magicians engaged in celebrating some mystic rites; but, upon nearer inspection, we recognised in them our old friends the Jews, preparing their and our evening repast.

We set out the next morning before day-break, as was our usual custom, having no inducement to remain any longer than was absolutely necessary in these hovels, abounding in vermin, and in which filth and wretchedness are united. Near Borisow we crossed the Berezyna, which has been erroneously laid down by some modern geographers, as forming the new boundary between Russia and Poland; and on the other side of the town passed a camp of 2,000 Russian troops, who were marching to Warsaw.

At Borisow the Jews procured us ten horses, and placed them all in two rows, six next the carriage, and four in front*. There was in-

* The usual method of harnessing was by placing four abreast, and two in the foremost row.

deed

deed much ingenuity in contriving this arrangement, which was effected in the following manner. The two middle horses in the hinder row were harnessed as usual to the splinter-bars; their two nearest neighbours were fastened to the extremities of the axle-tree, which projected considerably on each side beyond the boxes of the fore-wheels; and the two outermost were tied in the same manner, by means of long ropes, to the hinder axle-tree: the four horses in front were harnessed to the pole and to the splinter-bars of the pole. Well assured that horses, ranged in this primitive manner, would require more room than the narrow roads of Poland generally afforded, we endeavoured to persuade the drivers to place them in pairs; but such was their obstinacy or want of comprehension, that we could not prevail upon them to make any alteration. We therefore unloosed two horses from the hindermost row; and for that permission were obliged to compound for leaving the remaining eight in their original position. In this manner we proceeded; but still found great difficulty in forcing our way through the wilderness, which was so overgrown with thick underwood, as in many parts scarcely to admit the breadth of an ordinary

dinary carriage. In some places we were obliged to take off two, in others four of the horses; and not unfrequently alighted, in order to assist the drivers and servants in removing fallen trees which obstructed the way; in directing the horses through the winding paths, and in finding a new track along the almost impenetrable forest. We thought ourselves exceedingly fortunate, that our carriage was not shaken to pieces; and that we were not overturned.

In various parts of the forest, we observed a circular range of boards fixed to several trees about twelve feet from the ground, and projecting three in breadth from the trunk. Upon inquiry we were informed, that upon any great hunting party, ladders were placed against these scaffoldings; and that when any person is closely pressed by a bear, he runs up the ladder, and draws it up after him: the bear, although an excellent climber, is stopped in his ascent by the projection of the boards.

We were very happy at length to reach Naitza, although we took up our station in one of the most wretched of all the wretched cottages we had yet entered. The

only article of furniture it afforded was a small table; and the only utensil a broken earthen pot, in which our repast was prepared, and which served us also for dishes and plates. We ate our meagre fare by the light of a thin lath of deal, about five feet in length, which was stuck into a crevice of the wainscot, and hung over the table: this lath, thanks to the turpentine contained in it, served us instead of a candle, of which there was not one to be found in the whole village of Naitza. It is surprising, that the careless method of using these lights is not oftener attended with dreadful effects; for the cottagers carry them about the house with such little caution, that we frequently observed sparks to drop from them upon the straw which was prepared for our beds: nor were we able, by the strongest expressions of fear, to awaken in them the slightest degree of circumspection. For some time after coming into this country, we used to start up with no small emotion in order to extinguish the sparks; but, such is the irresistible influence of custom, we became at last ourselves perfectly insensible to the danger of this practice, and caught all
the

the indifference of the natives. I once even so far forgot myself as to hold a lighted stick for a considerable time over an heap of straw, while I was negligently searching for some trifle. This supineness, which I so easily acquired in this instance, convinced me (if I may compare small things with great), that I could live with the inhabitants at the foot of Mount Vesuvius without dread of an eruption; or sit unconcerned with the natives of Constantinople amid the devastations of the plague.

It is inconceivable how few are the wants of the Lithuanian peasants! Their carts are put together without iron; their bridles and traces are generally plaited from the bark of trees, or composed merely of twisted branches. They have no other instrument but a hatchet, to construct their huts, cut out their furniture, and make their carts. Their dress is a thick linen shirt and drawers, a long coarse drugget coat, or a sheepskin cloak, a round black felt cap lined with wool, and shoes made from the bark of trees. Their huts are built of trunks of trees heaped on each other, and look like piles of wood in wharfs with penthouse roofs.

How very unlike the Swiss cottages, though formed of the same materials! Nor are their houses more dissimilar than their manners. The striking difference between the Swiss and Polish peasants, in their very air and deportment, strongly marks the contrast of their respective governments. The Swiss are open, frank, rough, but ready to serve you; they nod their heads, or slightly pull off their hats as you pass by, but expect a return of civility: they are roused by the least rudeness, and are not to be insulted with impunity. On the contrary, the Polish peasants are cringing and servile in their expressions of respect: they bowed down to the ground; took off their hats or caps, and held them in their hands till we were out of sight; stopped their carts on the first glimpse of our carriage; in short, their whole behaviour gave evident symptoms of the abject servitude under which they groaned. Yet liberty is as often the subject of encomium in Poland as in Switzerland: how different, however, are its operations in the two countries! In the one it is equally diffused, and spreads comfort and happiness through the whole community: in the other it centers in a few, and is in reality the worst species of despotism.

Before I close my account of Poland, I shall just cursorily mention, that in our progress through this country we could not fail observing several persons with matted or clotted hair, which constitutes a disorder called *Plica Polonica*: it receives that denomination because it is considered as peculiar to Poland; although it is not unfrequent in Hungary, Tartary, and several adjacent nations, and instances of it are occasionally to be found in other countries.

According to the observations of Dr. Vicat, an ingenious Swiss physician long resident in Poland, and who has published a satisfactory treatise * upon this subject; the *Plica Polonica* is supposed to proceed from an acrid viscous humour, penetrating into the hair, which is tubular †: it then exudes either from its sides or extremities; and clots the whole together, either in separate folds, or in one undistinguished mass. Its symptoms,

* *Memoire sur la Plique Polonoise.*

† The dilatation of the hair is sometimes so considerable as to admit small globules of blood; this circumstance, which however very rarely happens, has probably given rise to the notion, that the patient, if his hair is cut off, bleeds to death.

more or less violent, according to the constitution of the patient, or malignity of the disease, are itchings, swellings, eruptions, ulcers, intermitting fevers, pains in the head, languor, lowness of spirits, rheumatism, gout; and sometimes even convulsions, palsy, and madness. These symptoms gradually decrease as the hair becomes affected. If the patient is shaved in the head, he relapses into all the dreadful complaints which preceded the eruption of the *Plica*; and he continues to labour under them, until a fresh growth of hair absorbs the acrid humour. This disorder is thought hereditary; and is proved to be contagious when in a virulent state.

Many physical causes have been supposed to concur in rendering the *Plica* more frequent in these regions than in other parts: it would be endless to enumerate the various conjectures with which each person has supported his favourite hypothesis: the most probable are those assigned by Dr. Vicat. The first cause is the nature of the Polish air, which is rendered insalubrious by numerous woods and morasses; and occasionally derives an uncommon keenness even in the midst of summer from the position of the

Carpathian mountains: for the southern and south-easterly winds, which usually convey warmth in other regions, are in this chilled in their passage over their snowy summits. The second is unwholesome water: for although Poland is not deficient in good springs, yet the common people usually drink that which is nearest at hand, taken indiscriminately from rivers, lakes, and even stagnant pools. The third cause is the gross inattention of the natives to cleanliness; for experience shews, that those who are not negligent in their persons and habitations, are less liable to be afflicted with the plica, than others who are deficient in that particular. Thus persons of higher rank are less subject to this disorder than those of inferior stations; the inhabitants of large towns than those of small villages; the free peasants than those in an absolute state of vassalage; the natives of Poland Proper than those of Lithuania. Whatever may be determined as to the possibility that all, or any of these causes, by themselves, or in conjunction with others, originally produced the disorder; we may venture to assert, that they all, and particularly the last, assist its propagation; inflame its symptoms; and protract its cure.

In

In a word, the *Plica Polonica* appears to be a contagious distemper; which, like the leprosy, still prevails among a people ignorant in medicine, and inattentive to check its progress; but is rarely known in those countries, where proper precautions are taken to prevent its spreading.



T R A V E L S

INTO

R U S S I A.

B O O K III.

X 4

THE

RECORD

BOOK



MAP of
EUROPEAN
RUSSIA.
By Tho. Kitchin Senr.
Hobbs the Engraver.

Russian Versts 105 to a Degree.
English Miles 69 to a Degree.



CHAP. I.

Entrance into Russia.—Limits and account of the province dismembered from Poland.—Cheapness of the post.—Journey to Smolensko.—History and Description of Smolensko.—Divine service in the cathedral.—Visit to the bishop.—Dinner with a judge.—Journey to Moscow.—Peasants.—Their dress, cottages, food, &c.

AUGUST 20. We came into Russia at the small village of Tolitzin, which in 1772 belonged to Poland; but is now comprised in the portion of country ceded to the empress by the late partition treaty. The province allotted to Russia comprises Polish Livonia; that part of the palatinate of Polotsk which lies to the east of the Duna; the palatinates of Vitepsk, Micislaw; and two small portions to the north-east and south-east of the palatinate of Minsk: this tract of land
(Polish

(Polish Livonia excepted) is situated in White-Russia, and includes at least one third of Lithuania.

The Russian limits of the new province are formed by the Duna, from its mouth to above Vitepsk; from thence by a straight line running directly south to the source of the Drug near Tolitzin; by the Drug to its junction with the Dnieper; and lastly, by the Dnieper to the point where it receives the Sotz. This territory is now divided into the two governments of Polotsk and Mohilef; its population amounts to about 1,600,000 souls; its productions are chiefly grain in large quantities, hemp, flax, and pasture; its forests furnish great abundance of masts, planks, also oak for ship-building, pitch and tar, &c. which are chiefly sent down the Duna to Riga.

At Tolitzin we were greatly astonished at the cheapness of the post-horses: and when our servant had discharged the first account, which amounted to only two copecs, or about a penny a verst * for each horse, we should have concluded, that he had cheated the post-master in our favour; if we had not been

* Three quarters of a mile.

well convinced, from the general character of the Russians, that they were not likely to be duped by strangers. Indeed we soon afterwards discovered, that even half of the charge, which we thought so extremely moderate, might have been saved; if we had taken the precaution of obtaining an order from the Russian ambassador at Warsaw.

From Tolitzin, through the new government of Mohilef, the road was excellent, and of considerable breadth, with a double row of trees planted on each side, and ditches to drain off the water. We passed through several wretched villages; ferried at Orsa over the Dnieper, there only a small river; went through Dubroffna; and arrived in the evening at Lady. The country from Tolitzin to Lady is waving and somewhat hilly, abounds in forest, and produces corn, millet, hemp, and flax. In the largest villages we observed schools and other buildings, constructed at the expence of the empress, and also churches with domes, intended for the Polish dissidents of the Greek sect, and the Russians who chuse to settle in the country.

Lady is situated in the government of Smolensko, and, before the late dismemberment, was one of the Russian frontier towns: we
took

took up our quarters at the post-house, where we procured a very comfortable apartment. These post-houses, which frequently occur in the principal high-roads of Russia, are mostly constructed upon the same plan, and are very convenient for the accommodation of travellers: they are large square wooden buildings, enclosing a spacious court-yard; in the center of the front is a range of apartments intended for the reception of travellers, with a gate-way on each side leading into the court-yard; the remainder of the front is appropriated to the use of the post-master and his servants; the other three sides of the quadrangle are divided into stables and sheds for carriages, and large barns for hay and corn. We were agreeably surprized, even in this remote place, to meet with some English strong beer; and no less pleased to see our supper served in dishes of our countryman Wedgewood's cream-coloured ware. The luxury of clean straw for our beds was no small addition to these comforts.

Upon calling for our bill in the morning, we found our charge as reasonable as the entertainment was good. The satisfaction we expressed at our reception, perhaps induced the secretary (as the post-master himself

self was absent) to think us proper subjects of imposition. The distance to the next station was about ten miles, and the secretary demanded three times the sum allowed by the public regulations, under pretence of our not being provided with an order for post-horses. We hinted some surprize at this charge: this intimation, though conveyed in the mildest terms, the secretary thought proper to answer with expressions of contempt and defiance; he ordered the horses again into the stable, and declared we should not stir from the place until we discharged the full sum. Though we might easily have been prevailed upon by the slightest apology to have submitted to the fraud, we determined to chastise his insolence. We repaired to the director of the custom-house, and were immediately admitted: to our great satisfaction he spoke German; and after we had laid our case before him, he told us, that the Russian had demanded treble the sum he was intitled to; he assured us, we should receive instant redress, and that the offender should be punished for his imposition. Having dispatched a messenger, to whom he whispered a private order, he desired us to wait his return, and offered us coffee. While we were drinking it, he gave us various information

formation relative to the Russian posts; added several hints, which afterwards proved singularly useful; and particularly cautioned us to procure an order for horses from the governor of Smolensko. In the midst of this conversation we heard a carriage drive to the door, which we perceived to be our own, with all things ready for our immediate departure: our old friend, the post-master's secretary, made at the same time his appearance in a very submissive attitude; we interceded with the director for his back, and obtained a promise that he should only be reprimanded. After making those acknowledgments to our friendly director, which were due to his politeness; we took our leave, and proceeded on our journey.

We were much chagrined at finding that the excellent new road lately described terminated at Lady: it was some satisfaction, however, that the remaining parts from thence to Smolensko proved far superior to those we had encountered in the Lithuanian forests. The villages were an exact counterpart to those we had left behind; and exhibited scarcely any thing more than a repetition of scenes already detailed.

The

The Russians differ widely in their appearance and dress from the Polish peasants. The most striking contrast arises from their method of wearing their hair: the Poles shave their heads, leaving only a small tuft upon the crown; whereas the others suffer their hair to hang quite down to the eye-brows and over the ears, and cut it short round the neck. The country was undulating and hilly, and more open than usual until we arrived within a few miles of Smolensko; when we plunged into a thick forest, which continued almost to the gates of that town, without the intervention of a single village, or scarcely of a single cottage.

In 1403 the town of Smolensko, which belonged to the Russians, was besieged and taken by Vitoldus; and, together with the whole province, united to the duchy of Lithuania*. During the constant and inveterate enmities which subsisted between the Russians and Poles, Smolensko was a place of great importance; though only fortified according to the custom of the time, partly with ramparts of earth and ditches, and partly with pallisadoes,

* Dlugoffius, Lib. X. p. 104. et seq.

and a wooden citadel *; these fortifications were, however, sufficiently strong to resist the desultory attacks of undisciplined troops; and it was at different intervals ineffectually besieged until the beginning of the 16th century, when Vassili Ivanovitch great duke of Moscovy obtained possession of it, by corrupting the garrison. It continued in the hands of the Russians for above a century, in the same simple style of defence. At length the importance of its situation near the frontiers of Poland, and the improvements in the art of war, induced Boris Godunof, prime minister, and brother-in-law of the tzar Feodor Ivanovitch, to surround it with a wall: he came in person to Smolensko, and himself assisted in tracing out the site of the fortifications, which he lived to see completed in his own reign †, and which are the same that subsist at present. These additional ramparts, however, did not prevent Sigismund III. king of Poland, from besieging and taking the town in 1611; and by the truce of Develina in 1618, the posses-

* *Rerum Mosc. Auc.* p. 52. *Mayerberg Iter. Mosc.* p. 74.

† *S. R. G.* vol. V. p. 94. *Lengnich, Jus Pub.* v. I. p. 46.

sion was confirmed to Poland. In 1654 it was again reduced by Alexèy Michaelovitch; and in 1686 finally ceded to Russia at the peace of Moscow*.

Smolensko, though by no means the most magnificent, is by far the most singular town I have ever seen. It is situated upon the river Dnieper, and occupies two hills, and the valley which lies between them. It is surrounded by walls thirty feet high and fifteen thick, with the lower part of stone, and the upper of brick: these walls, which follow the shape of the hills, and enclose a circumference of seven versts †, have, at every angle, round or square towers of two or three stories, much broader at top than at bottom, and covered with circular roofs of wood. The intervals are studded with smaller turrets; on the outside of the wall is a broad deep ditch, regular covered way with traverses, glacis, &c. and where the ground is highest, there are redoubts of earth according to the modern style of fortification. In the middle of the town is an eminence, upon which stands the cathedral; from whence I had a most pic-

* Lengnich, vol. I. p. 47.

† Four miles and three quarters.

turesque view of the town, interspersed with-
 in the circuit of the walls with gardens,
 groves, copses, fields of pasture, and corn.
 The buildings are mostly wooden, of one
 story (many of them no better than cottages)
 excepting here and there a gentleman's house,
 which is called a palace, and several churches,
 constructed of brick and stuccoed. One long
 broad street, which is paved, intersects the
 whole length of the town in a straight line; the
 other streets generally wind in circular direc-
 tions, and are floored with planks. The
 walls, stretching over the uneven sides of the
 hills till they reach the banks of the Dnieper;
 their antient style of architecture; their gro-
 tesque towers; the spires of churches shooting
 above the trees, which are so numerous as
 almost to conceal the buildings from view;
 the appearance of meadows and arable
 ground; all these objects blended together
 exhibit a scene of the most singular and con-
 trasted kind. On the further side of the
 Dnieper are many straggling wooden houses
 that form the suburbs, and are joined to the
 town by a wooden bridge. As far as I could
 collect from vague information, Smolensko
 contains about 4,000 inhabitants: it has
 no manufactures; but carries on some com-
 merce

merce with the Ukraine, Dantzic, and Riga. The principal articles of its trade are flax, hemp, honey, wax, hides, hogs bristles, masts, planks, and Siberian furs.

The Dnieper rises in the forest of Volkonski, near the source of the Volga, about 100 miles from Smolensko: it passes by Smolensko and Mohilef; separates the Ukraine from Poland; flows by Kiof; and falls into the Black-sea between Otchakof and Kinburn. By the acquisition of the province of Mohilef, its whole course is now included within the Russian territories. It begins to be navigable at a little distance above Smolensko, though in some seasons of the year it is so shallow near the town, that the goods must be transported upon rafts and small flat-bottomed boats.

Having occasion for a new passport and an order for horses, we called upon the governor, accompanied by a Russian student, who spoke Latin, for our interpreter. The governor being at church; we repaired to the cathedral, and waited until divine service was concluded. The cathedral is a stately building, erected upon the spot where formerly stood the palace of the antient dukes of Smolensko.

The inside walls are covered with coarse paintings representing our Saviour, the Virgin, and a variety of Saints, which are very abundant in the Greek religion. The shrine, or sanctuary, into which only the priests are admitted, is separated from the body of the church by a skreen with large folding doors; and is ornamented with twisted pillars of the Corinthian order richly carved and gilded. The worship seemed to consist of innumerable ceremonies: the people crossed themselves without ceasing; bowed towards the shrine and to each other; and even touched the ground with their heads. The bishop of Smolensko performed the service; a venerable figure, with white flowing hair and long beard: he had a crown upon his head, and was dressed in rich episcopal robes. The folding doors were occasionally opened and closed with great pomp and solemnity whenever the bishop retired within, or came forth to bless the people: at the conclusion of the service, the doors being thrown open, the bishop advanced forward with a chandelier in each hand, one containing three, and the other two lighted candles; which he repeatedly crossed over each other in different directions;

rections; then waving them towards the audience, he concluded with a final benediction. These chandeliers, as I am informed, are symbolical; one alludes to the Trinity, and the other to the two natures of Christ.

The service being finished, we presented ourselves to the governor, who, to our surprise, received us with an air of coldness, which made such an impression on our interpreter, that he could not be persuaded to utter a single word. At length a gentleman in the governor's train accosted us in French, and inquired our business. Upon our informing him that we were English gentlemen who desired a passport, and an order for horses; he told us with a smile, that the plainness of our dresses had raised a suspicion of our being tradesmen; but he was not ignorant that English gentlemen seldom wore lace on their clothes, or swords in a journey; an intimation which recalled to our memory the advice of our Polish friend at Minsk *. He then whispered the governor, who instantly assumed an appearance of complacency, and testified by his gesture an intention of complying with our

* P. 297.

request. This matter was scarcely adjusted, when the bishop joined the company; he had laid aside the costly garments, in which he performed the service, and was dressed in a long black robe, a round black cap, and veil of the same colour. He addressed us in Latin, and invited us to his house. He led the way; and we followed with the rest of the company to a commodious wooden building adjoining to the cathedral. Upon entering the apartment, the governor and Russian gentlemen kissed his hand with great marks of respect. After desiring all the company to sit, he distinguished us by particular attention; observing, with much politeness, that our company gave him greater pleasure, as he had never, since his residence at Smolensko, received a visit from any Englishmen, for whose nation he had the highest respect. During this conversation a servant spread a cloth upon a small table; and placed upon it a plate of bread, some salt, and some flowers: another followed with a salver of small glasses full of a transparent liquor. The bishop blessed the bread and the salver with great solemnity, and then took a glass; we thought it at first a religious ceremony; but were undeceived by the servants offering the

the bread and salver to us as well as to the other persons present. Every one being served, the bishop drank all our healths, a compliment which the company returned with a bow, and instantly emptied their glasses: we followed this example, and found the liquor to be a dram of cherry-water. This preliminary being settled; we resumed our conversation with the bishop, and asked several questions relative to the antient state of Smolensko. He answered every inquiry with great readiness; gave us a concise account of the state of the town under its antient dukes; and informed us that their palace was situated on the spot now occupied by the cathedral; that the latter was built by Feodor Michaelovitch, brother of Peter the Great, and had been lately repaired and beautified. After about half an hour's agreeable conversation, we took our leave, greatly pleased with the politeness and affability of the prelate.

Our interpreter, who was one of the students, conducted us to the seminary, which is appropriated for the education of the clergy, in which the Latin, Greek, German, and Polish languages are taught: the priest who shewed us the library talked Latin; he introduced

roduced us into his chamber, and, according to the hospitable custom of this country, offered us some refreshment, which consisted of cakes and mead.

In the afternoon the Russian gentleman, who so obligingly relieved us from our embarrassment before the governor, kindly paid us a visit, and invited us to dine with him the following day. We accepted his invitation, and waited upon him at two, the usual hour of dining: he was a judge, and lived in a wooden house provided by the court; the rooms were small, but neatly furnished. The company consisted of that gentleman, his wife and sister, all of whom talked French: the ladies were dressed in the French fashion, and had on a good deal of rouge; they do not curtsy; but their mode of salute is to bow their heads very low. Before dinner *liqueurs* were handed about; the ladies each took a small glass, and recommended the same to us as favourable to digestion. The table was neatly set out, the dinner excellent, and served up in English cream-coloured ware. Besides plain roast and boiled meats, several Russian dishes were introduced; one of these was a kind of salad composed of mushrooms and onions; and
another

another the grain of green corn, baked and moistened with sweet oil. Before we rose from table, our host calling for a large glass, filled a bumper of champagne, drank it off to our health; and then handed the glass round. "This is an old custom," said the judge, "and was meant as an expression of regard; the age is now grown delicate, and the free effusions of hospitality must be suppressed in ceremony: but I am an old-fashioned man, and cannot easily relinquish the habits of my youth." After dinner we adjourned to another room, and played two or three rubbers of whist. Coffee and tea were brought in, and a plate of sweetmeats was handed round to the company. About six we took leave of our friendly host; and returned to our inn, if it may be called by that honourable appellation. This inn, the only one in the town, was a wooden building, in a very ruinous state, formerly painted on the outside. The apartment which we occupied had once been hung with paper, as appeared from some torn fragments that here and there covered a small portion of the wainscot, which was a patchwork of old and new planks. Its furniture was two benches and as many chairs;
of

of the latter, one was without a bottom, and the other without a back; the only table was an old deal box. We were inclined to conjecture that there was a heavy tax upon air and light in this country; for all the windows were closed with planks, except one, which could not be opened, and it could scarcely be seen through, on account of the dirt with which it was incrust. In the inventory of these valuables I should not omit a couch upon which I slept: it had been so often mended, that, like Sir John Cutler's stockings, immortalized by *Martinus Scriblerus*, we could not distinguish any part of the original materials. It may perhaps appear surprising, that a town like Smolensko should contain no tolerable inn; but the surprize will cease when we reflect that few strangers pass this way; that the Russians themselves carry their provisions with them, and either continue their journey during the night, or are received in private houses.

August 25. We quitted Smolensko, crossed the Dnieper over a wooden bridge into the suburbs; and pursued our journey for some way through a valley of fine pasture watered by the Dnieper, spotted with underwood, and terminating on each side in gentle eminences clothed

clothed with trees. As we advanced; the country became more abrupt and uneven, but no where rose into any considerable hill. Near Slovoda, a large straggling village, where we stopped for a few hours during the darkness of the night, we again crossed the Dnieper upon a raft formed of trunks of trees tied together with cords, and scarcely large enough to receive the carriage, which sunk it some inches under water: this machine was then pushed from the banks until it met another of the same kind, to which the horses stepped with great difficulty; and the distance of the two rafts from each other was so considerable, that the carriage could scarcely be prevented from slipping between them and sinking into the river.

The second post from this primitive ferry was Dogorobush, built upon a rising hill, and exhibiting, like Smolensko, though upon a smaller scale, an intermixture of churches, houses, cottages, corn-fields, and meadows: some of the houses, which had been lately constructed at the empress's expence, were of brick covered with stucco, and had the appearance of so many palaces when contrasted with the meanness of the surrounding hovels. This place was formerly a strong fortress,
and

and frequently besieged during the wars between Russia and Poland: the ramparts of the antient citadel still remain; from them we commanded an extensive view of the adjacent country, consisting of a large plain watered by the winding Dnieper, and bounded by distant hills. From Dogorobush we proceeded about 24 miles to a small village called Zaratesh; where we thought ourselves very fortunate in being housed for the night in a tolerable hut, which afforded us, a rare instance of accommodation in these parts, a room separate from that used by the family. Our hostess was a true Asiatic figure: she had on a blue garment without sleeves, which descended to the ankles, and was tied round the waist with a red sash; she wore a white piece of linen wrapped round her head like a turban, ear-rings, and necklace of variegated beads; her shoes were fastened with blue strings, which were also bound round the ankles, in order to keep up the coarse linen wrappers that served for stockings.

August 27. Our route the next morning, from Zaratesh to Viasma, lay through a continuity of forest, occasionally relieved by the intervention of pastures and corn-fields.

fields. When we reflected that we were in the 55th degree of northern latitude, we were surprized at the forwardness of the harvest: the wheat and barley were already carried in; and the peasants were employed in cutting the oats and millet. Since our departure from Smolensko the weather had proved remarkably cold; and the wind had the keenness of a November blast: the peasants were all clothed in their sheep-skins, or winter dresses.

At a small distance from Viasma we passed the rivulet of the same name, navigable only for rafts, which descend its stream into the Dnieper: we then mounted a small eminence, on the top whereof stands the town, making a magnificent appearance with the domes and spires of several churches rising above the trees. Viasma spreads, in a broken disjointed manner over a large extent of ground: its buildings are mostly of wood, a few houses of brick excepted, which had lately been erected by the munificence of the empress. Part of the principal street is formed, like the Russian roads, of the trunks of trees laid cross-ways, and part is boarded with planks like the floor of a room. It contains above twenty churches, a remarkable number for a place

place but thinly inhabited. The churches in these small towns and villages are chiefly ornamented with a cupola and several domes: the outside walls are either white-washed or painted red; and the cupolas or domes are generally green, or of a different colour from the other parts. At some distance the number of spires and domes rising above the trees, which conceal the contiguous hovels, would lead a traveller unacquainted with the country to expect a large city in a place; where perhaps, upon nearer inspection, he will only find a collection of wooden huts.

At Viasna was concluded, in 1634, the treaty of perpetual peace between Ladislaus IV. king of Poland, and Michael Feodorovitch: by this treaty Michael confirmed the cession of Smolensko, Severia, and Tchernichef, which had been yielded to the Poles at the truce of Develina; while Ladislaus renounced the title of Tzar, and acknowledged Michael as the rightful sovereign of Russia*. On this occasion both monarchs relinquished what they did not possess; and wisely sacrificed imaginary pretensions to the attainment of a substantial peace.

* Lengnich, Hist. Pol. p. 167.

The Russian peasants appeared in general a large coarse hardy race, and of great bodily strength. Their dress is a round hat or cap with a very high crown, a coarse robe of drugget (or in winter of sheep-skin with the wool turned inwards) reaching below the knee, and bound round the waist by a sash, trowsers of linen almost as thick as sack-cloth, a woollen or flannel cloth wrapped round the leg instead of stockings, sandals woven from strips of a pliant bark, and fastened by strings of the same materials, which are afterwards twined round the leg, and serve as garters to the woollen or flannel wrappers. In warm weather the peasants frequently wear only a short coarse shirt and trowsers.

Their cottages are built in the same manner as those of Lithuania; but larger, and somewhat better provided with furniture and domestic utensils: they are of a square shape; formed of whole trees, piled upon one another, and secured at the four corners where their extremities meet, with mortises and tenons. The interstices between these piles are filled with moss. Within, the timbers are smoothed with the axe, so as to form the appearance of wainscot; but without are left with the bark

bark in their rude state. The roofs are in the penthouse form, and generally composed of the bark of trees or shingles, which are sometimes covered with mould or turf. The peasants usually construct the whole house solely with the assistance of the hatchet, and cut the planks of the floor with the same instrument, in many parts being unacquainted with the use of the saw: they finish the shell of the house and the roof, before they begin to cut the windows and doors. The windows are openings of a few inches square, closed with sliding frames; and the doors are so low as not to admit a middle-sized man without stooping. These cottages sometimes, though very rarely, consist of two stories; in which case the lower apartment is a kind of store-room, &c. and the upper is the habitable part of the house: the staircase is most commonly a kind of ladder on the outside. Most of these huts are, however, only one story; a few of them contain two rooms, the generality only one. In some of this latter sort I was frequently awakened by the chickens picking the grains of corn in the straw upon which I lay, and more than once by a less inoffensive animal. At Tabluka, a village, where we passed the night

night of the 27th, a party of hogs gained admittance into the room at four in the morning, and roused me by grunting close to my ear. Not much pleased either with the earliness of the visit, or the salutation of my visitors, I called out to my servant, "Joseph, drive these gentry out of the room, and shut the door." "There is no door that will shut," replied Joseph with great composure, "we have tried every expedient to fasten it without success; the hogs have more than once been excluded, but have as often returned." This conversation so effectually roused me, that I determined to resign to my unwelcome guests that litter which I could no longer enjoy: I accordingly raised myself from the straw; and, sitting down, contemplated by the light of a slip of deal the scene around me. My two companions were stretched upon the same parcel of straw from which I had just emerged; a little beyond them our servants occupied a separate heap; at a small distance three Russians, with long beards, and coarse sackcloth shirts and trowsers, lay extended upon their backs on the bare floor; on the opposite side of the room three women in their clothes slumbered on a long bench;

while the top of the stove afforded a couch to a woman dressed like the others, and four sprawling children almost naked.

The furniture in these cottages consists chiefly of a wooden table or dresser, and benches fastened to the sides of the room: the utensils are platters, bowls, spoons, &c. all made of wood, with perhaps one large earthen pan, in which the family cook their victuals. The food of the peasants is black-rye-bread, sometimes white, eggs, salt-fish, bacon, mushrooms; their favourite dish is a kind of hodge-podge made of salt or fresh meat, groats, rye-flour, highly seasoned with onions and garlic; which latter ingredients are much used by the Russians.

The peasants seemed greedy of money; and almost always demanded previous payment for every trifle we bought or bargained for. They seemed also in general much inclined to thieving. In Poland it was not necessary to be always upon the watch; and we frequently left the equipage during the whole night without any guard: but in this country, without the precaution of regularly stationing a servant in the carriage, every article would soon have disappeared; and even with this expedient, the watchfulness

of our *Argus* was continually baffled by the superior vigilance of the natives; and the morning generally announced some petty loss, to which the night had given birth.

The peasants at every post were obliged to furnish us with horses at a fixed and very reasonable rate, which had the ill effect of rendering them extremely dilatory in their motions: and as our only interpreter was a Bohemian * servant, not perfectly acquainted with the Russian language; his difficulty in explaining, joined to their backwardness in executing our orders, occasioned our frequently waiting several hours for a change of horses. The peasants acted in the capacity of coachmen and postilions: they always harnessed four horses a-breast, and commonly put eight, and sometimes even ten horses to our carriage; as the stages were for the most part twenty, and sometimes even thirty miles, and the roads extremely bad. They seldom used either boots or saddles, and had no sort of stirrup, except a rope doubled and thrown across the horse's back. Each horse was equipped with a snaffle-bridle, which how-

* The Bohemian and Russian languages are both dialects of the Slavonian tongue.

ever was seldom inserted into the mouth, but was generally suffered to hang loose under his jaw. The general method of driving was not in a steady pace, but by starts and bounds, with little attention to the nature of the ground: the peasants seldom trotted their horses; they would suddenly force them into a gallop through the worst roads, and sometimes as suddenly check their speed upon the most level surface. A common piece of rope served them for a whip, which they seldom had any occasion to use, as they urged their horses forwards by hooting and whistling like cat-calls. The intervals of these noises were filled with singing, which is a favourite practice among the Russians; and has been mentioned by most travellers who, for these two or three last centuries, have visited this country, and which I shall enlarge upon on a future occasion.

From the wretched harness, which was continually breaking, and required to be repeatedly adjusted; the badness of the roads; the length of time we were always detained at the posts before we could procure horses; and other necessary impediments; we were seldom able to travel more than forty or fifty miles a day, although we commenced our journey

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journey before sun-rise, and pursued it till it was quite dark.

August 27. Near Viasma we entered the vast forest of Volkonski, through which we continued for 150 miles without interruption, almost to the gates of Moscow. This forest, which stretches on all sides to an immense extent, gives rise to the principal rivers of European Russia, the Duna, the Dnieper, and the Volga. The sources of the Duna were at some distance from our route; but those of the Dnieper and the Volga rose at small intervals from each other, not far from Viasma. The country in this part was more than usual broken into hill and dale; though still it exhibited rather a succession of waving surface, than any considerable elevations.

On the 28th we arrived at the village of Gretkeva towards the close of the evening, and imprudently proceeded on our journey another stage of eighteen miles: the evening set in exceedingly dark, cold, and rainy; the road was uncommonly bad; and we were in continual apprehensions of being overturned. The greatest danger, however, which we encountered, was unknown to us until we arrived at the end of the station:

we were then informed by our servants, that we had actually crossed a broad piece of water upon a wooden bridge without railing, so infirm that it almost cracked under the carriage, and so narrow that one of the hind-wheels was for an instant absolutely suspended over the precipice beneath. Our usual good fortune brought us safe between twelve and one to a cottage at Moshaïsk, where we found an excellent ragout of beef and onions prepared for us by the trusty servant, who always preceded us, and provided our lodging and supper. I have little to say of Moshaïsk; as we entered it at so late an hour, and departed the next morning by day-break. We changed horses at the village of Selo-Naro, and arrived early in the evening at Malo-à-Viasma, embosomed in the forest, and pleasantly situated at the edge of a small lake. This place was distant only 24 miles from Moscow, where we were impatient to arrive; but we prudently deferred our journey until the next morning, as we did not chuse to tempt fortune again by exposing ourselves a second time to dangers in a dark night and in an unknown country.

The road for some way before we came to Malo-à-Viasma, and from thence to Moscow, was

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was a broad straight avenue cut through the forest. The trees, which composed these vast plantations, set by the hand of Nature, were oaks, beech, mountain-ash, poplar, pines and firs, mingled together in the most wanton variety. The different shades of green, and the rich tints of the autumnal colours, were inexpressibly beautiful; while the sublime, but uniform expanse of forest was occasionally relieved by recesses of pastures and corn-fields.

C H A P. II.

Arrival at Moscow.—History of its origin and progress.—Removal of the seat of empire to Petersburg.—General and particular description of Moscow.—Its divisions.—Krem-lin.—Khitaigorod.—Bielgorod.—Semlalnigorod.—The Sloboda, or suburbs.—New palace-gardens.—Old Style.—Hospitality of the Russian nobles.—Polite attentions of Prince Volkonski.—Account of Mr. Muller the celebrated historian.—Anniversary of St. Alexander Nevski.—Ceremonies of the day.—Entertainments at Count Alexèy Orlof's—his stud.—Boxing matches.—Vauxhall, &c.

AUGUST 30. Our approach to Moscow was first announced about the distance of six miles by some spires, which over-topped an eminence at the end of the broad avenue cut through the forest: about two or three miles further we ascended an height, from whence a most superb prospect of the vast city burst upon our sight. It lay

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in the form of a crescent, and stretched to a prodigious extent; while innumerable churches, towers, gilded spires and domes, white, red, and green buildings glittering in the sun, formed a most splendid appearance, yet strangely contrasted by an intermixture of numberless wooden hovels. The neighbouring country was undulating; the forest reached to within a mile of the ramparts, where it was succeeded by an open range of pastures without enclosures. We crossed the river Moskva over a raft floating upon the water, and fastened to each bank, which the Russians call a *living-bridge*, from its bending under the carriage. After a strict examination of our passport we drove through the suburbs for a considerable way along a wooden road; entered one of the interior circles of the town, called Bielgorod; and took up our quarters at an inn kept by a Frenchman, at which some of the nobility hold assemblies. Our apartments were convenient and spacious; we also found every accommodation in abundance, except beds and sheets; for as no one who is experienced in the customs of this country, travels without those articles, inns are seldom provided with them. With much trouble, however, we obtained from our landlord two
bedsteads

bedsteads with bedding, and one matrafs to place upon the floor; but we could not procure more than three sheets, one whereof fell to my share: we had been so long accustomed to sleep in our clothes upon straw, that we fancied ourselves in a state of unheard-of luxury, and blessed ourselves for our good fortune.

Moscow, called by the natives Moskva, is not so antient as Novogorod, Kiof, Vladimir, and Tver, which towns had been the residence of the Russian sovereigns before this city existed. The antiquaries of this country differ considerably in their opinions concerning the first foundation of Moscow; but the following account is generally esteemed by the best authors as the most probable*.

Kiof was the metropolis, when George son of Vladimir Monomaka ascended in 1154 the Russian throne. That monarch, being insulted in a progress through his dominions by a rich and powerful nobleman named Stephen Kutchko, put him to death, and confiscated his domains, consisting of the lands now occupied by the city of Moscow, and the

* See Sumorokof's *Kleine Chronik Von Moskau* in St. Pet. Journal for 1776; and Scherebatof's *Russ. Gef.* p. 736.

adjacent

adjacent territory. Pleased with the situation of the ground lying at the conflux of the Moskva and Neglina, he laid the foundation of a new town, which he called Moskva from the river of that name. Upon the demise of George, it was not neglected by his son Andrew, who transferred the seat of empire from Kiof to Vladimir; but it fell into such decay under his immediate successors, that when Daniel, son of Alexander Nevski, received, in the division of the empire, the duchy of Muscovy as his portion, and fixed his residence upon the conflux of the Moskva and Neglina, he may be said to have new founded the town. The spot now occupied by the Kremlin, was at that time overspread with a thick wood and a morass; in the midst whereof was a small island, containing a single wooden hut. Upon this part Daniel constructed churches, monasteries, and various other buildings, and enclosed it with wooden fortifications: he first assumed the title of duke of Moscow; and was so attached to this situation, that when, in 1304, he succeeded his brother Andrew Alexandrovitch in the great duchy of Vladimir, he did not remove his court to Vladimir, but continued his residence at Moscow, which then became

became the capital of the Russian dominions. His successors followed his example; among whom his son Ivan considerably enlarged the new metropolis; and in 1367 his grandson Demetrius Ivanovitch Donski surrounded the Kremlin with a brick-wall. These new fortifications, however, were not strong enough to prevent Tamerlane, in 1382, from taking the town after a short siege*. Being soon evacuated by that desultory conqueror, it again came into the possession of the Russians; but was frequently invaded and occupied by the Tartars, who in the 14th and 15th centuries over-ran the greatest part of Russia; and who even maintained a garrison in Moscow, until they were finally expelled by Ivan Vassilievitch I. To him Moscow is indebted for its principal splendour; and under him it became the principal and most considerable city of the Russian empire,

The Baron of Herberstein, who in the beginning of the sixteenth century was ambassador from the emperor Maximilian to the great-
duke Vassili, son of the above-mentioned Ivan Vassilievitch, is the first foreign writer who has given a description of Moscow,

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 93.

which

which he accompanied with a coarse engraving of the town in wood *. In this curious, but rude plan, may be distinguished the walls of the Kremlín, or citadel, in their present state, and several of the public buildings, which even now contribute to its ornament. From this period we are able to trace its subsequent progress and gradual increase, under the succeeding sovereigns, in the accounts of several English † and foreign ‡ writers, who since Herberstein, have published their travels into these parts.

Moscow continued the metropolis of Russia until the beginning of the present century: when, to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, but with great advantage, probably, to the state, the seat of empire was transferred to Petersburg.

Notwithstanding the predilection which Peter conceived for Petersburg, in which all the succeeding sovereigns, excepting Peter II. have fixed their residence, Moscow is still the most populous city of the Russian empire.

* See *Rer. Mos. Com.* in *Rer. Mos. Auct.*

† Chiefly Chancellor Fletcher, Smith, the author of *Lord Carlisle's Embassy*, Perry, Bruce, &c.

‡ Possevinus, Margaret, Petreius, Olearius, Mayerberg, Le Bruyn, &c.

Here the chief nobles who do not belong to the court of the empress reside; they here support a large number of retainers; gratify their taste for a ruder and more expensive magnificence in the antient style of feudal grandeur; and are not, as at Petersburg, eclipsed by the superior splendour of the court.

Moscow is situated in the longitude of 37 degrees 31 minutes from the first meridian of Greenwich, and in $55^{\circ} 45' 45''$ of northern latitude.

It is certainly the largest town in Europe; its circumference within the rampart, which encloses the suburbs, being exactly 39 versts; or 26 miles*; but it is built in so straggling and disjointed a manner, that its population in no degree corresponds to its extent. Some Russian authors state its inhabitants at 500,000 souls; a number evidently exaggerated. Busching, who resided some years in Russia, says that in 1770 Moscow contained 708 brick-houses, and 11,840 wooden habitations: 85,731 males and 67,059 females,

* Its circumference is nearly equal to that of Pekin, which, including its suburbs, measures 40 versts, or 26 miles and three-quarters. Journal of St. Pet. April, 1775, p. 243.

in all only 152,790 souls; a computation which seems to err in the other extreme *. According to an account published in the Journal of St. Petersburg †, the district of Moscow contained, in the beginning of 1780, 2178 hearths; and the number of inhabitants were 137,698 males, and 134,918 females, in all 272,616 souls. In the course of that same year the deaths amounted to 3702, and the births to 8621; and in the end, the population of the district was found to be 140,143 males, and 137,392 females, in all 277,535 souls. This computation is certainly more to be depended upon than either of the others; and its truth has been recently confirmed to me by an English gentleman lately returned from Moscow, who made this topic the subject of his inquiries. According to his account, which he received from the lieutenant of the police ‡,

Moscow contains within	}	250,000 souls.
the ramparts - - -		

And in the adjacent villages 50,000

If

* Busching's Neue Erdbeschreibung, V. I. p. 841. Edit. 1777.

† For 1781, p. 200.

‡ This computation may be relied upon. For as a new aqueduct near Moscow was just finished, it was necessary

If I was struck with the singularity of Smolensko, I was all astonishment at the immensity and variety of Moscow. A city so irregular, so uncommon, so extraordinary, and so contrasted, had never before claimed my astonishment. The streets are in general exceedingly long and broad: some of them are paved; others, particularly those in the suburbs, are formed with trunks of trees, or are boarded with planks like the floor of a room; wretched hovels are blended with large palaces; cottages of one story stand next to the most superb and stately mansions. Many brick structures are covered with wooden tops; some of the wooden houses are painted, others have iron doors and roofs. Numerous churches presented themselves in every quarter built in a peculiar style of architecture; some with domes of copper, others of tin, gilt or painted green, and many roofed with wood. In a word, some parts of this vast city have the appearance of a sequestered desert, other quarters, of a populous town; some of a contemptible village, others of a great capital.

necessary to form as exact an estimate as possible of the number of inhabitants, in order to regulate the necessary supply of water for each family.

Moscow

A PLAN of the CITY
of
MOSCOW.



References.

- A. Kremlin.
- B. Khitaigorod.
- C. Bielgorod.
- D. Semlainigorod.
- E. Sloboda or Suburbs.
- a. Neglina R.
- b. Yauza R.
- c. Palace of the Ancient Tsars.
- d. S. Michaels Church.
- e. Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.
- f. Convent of Tschudof.
- g. Church of the Holy Trinity or Ch. of Jerusalem.
- h. Church of S. Maximus.
- i. Printing Office.
- k. The Exchange.
- l. Site of the New Palace & Gardens.
- m. Nunnery of Devitz.
- + Churches & Chapels.



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Moscow may be considered as a town built upon the Asiatic model, but gradually becoming more and more European; exhibiting in its present state a motley mixture of discordant architecture. It is distributed into the following divisions. 1. Kremlin. 2. Khi-taigorod. 3. Bielgorod. 4. Semlainogorod. 5. Sloboda; which, for want of a more precise term, I shall call the suburbs.

1. The Kremlin was probably thus denominated by the Tartars when they were in possession of Moscow, from the word Krem, or Krim, which signifies a fortress: it stands in the central and highest part of the city, near the conflux of the Moskva and Neglina, which wash two of its sides; is of a triangular form; and about two miles in circumference. It is surrounded by high walls of stone and brick, which were constructed by Peter Solarius, a celebrated architect of Milan, in the year 1491, under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch I. as appears from the following curious inscription over one of the gates.

“ Joannes Vasilii Dei Gracia Magnus Dux
 “ Volodimeriæ Moscoviæ Novogardie
 “ Tiferiæ Plescoviæ Veticie Ongarie
 “ Permiæ Buolgarie et Aliar. Totius
 “ Q. Raxiæ Dominus Anno Tertio Im-
 VOL. I. A a “ perii

“ perii Sui Has Turres Condere Fet. Sta-
 “ tuit Petrus Antonides Solarius Medio-
 “ lanensis anno Nat. Domini 1491.
 “ K. Julii.

The reader will doubtless be as much surprized as I was to find, that the Tzars employed foreign architects at so early a period of their history, before their country was scarcely known to the rest of Europe. The Kremlin is not disfigured by wooden houses*; and contains the antient palace of the Tzars, several churches, two convents, the patriarchal palace, the arsenal now in ruins, and one private house, which belonged to Boris Godunof before he was raised to the throne.

2. The second division is called Khitaigorod, a term conjectured by some etymologists to imply the Chinese town. Voltaire, in his History of Peter the Great, peremptorily supports this opinion, when he calls Khitaigorod “ *La partie appelée la ville Chinoise, ou les raretés de la Chine s’etallaient.*” But it may be remarked, that this division of Moscow bore its present appellation long be-

* See the next Chapter, where some of these buildings are described. Since my visit to Moscow, many additional buildings have been constructed.

fore any connection was opened between the Russians and Chinese; and the best historians of this country, without pretending to ascertain its original signification, suppose the word Cathay or Khitai to have been introduced by the Tartars when they had possession of Moscow *: in proof of this conjecture, it is alleged, that there is a town in the Ukraine called Khitaigorod, and another of the same name in Podolia; both which countries, though entirely unknown to the Chinese, have been either over-run or inhabited by Tartars.

The Khitaigorod is inclosed on one side by that wall of the Kremlin which runs from the Moskva to the Neglina; and on the other side by a brick wall of inferior height. It is much larger than the Kremlin, and contains the university, the printing-house, and many other public buildings, together with all the tradesmen's shops. The edifices are mostly stuccoed or white-washed; and it has the only street in Moscow in which the houses stand close to one another without any intervals between them.

3. The Bielgorod, or White Town, which runs quite round the two preceding divisions,

* S. R. G. v. VIII. p. 538—541.

is supposed to derive its name from a white wall with which it was formerly enclosed, and of which some remains are still to be seen.

4. Semlainogorod, which environs all the three other quarters, takes its denomination from a circular rampart of earth with which it is encompassed. These two last-mentioned divisions exhibit a grotesque group of churches, convents, palaces, brick and wooden houses, and mean hovels, in no degree superior to peasants cottages.

5. The Sloboda, or Suburbs, form a vast exterior circle round all the parts already described; and are invested with a low rampart and ditch. These suburbs contain, besides buildings of all kinds and denominations, corn-fields, much open pasture, and some small lakes, which give rise to the Neglina.

The Moskva, from which the city takes its name, flows through it in a winding channel; but, excepting in spring, is only navigable for rafts. It receives the Yausa in the Semlainogorod, and the Neglina at the western extremity of the Kremlin; the beds of both these last-mentioned rivulets are, in summer, little better than dry channels.

The

The morning after our arrival, we ordered our Russian servant to hire a carriage for our use during our stay at Moscow. The equipage he procured was a chariot and six horses of different colours: the coachman and postilions were dressed like the peasants, with high cylindrical hats; the former, with a long beard and sheep-skin robe, sat upon the box; the latter, in a coarse drugget garb, were mounted upon the off horses, according to the custom of this country. Behind the carriage was an enormous sack of hay: upon expressing some surprize at this appendage, we were informed, that almost every carriage at Moscow is provided with a viaticum of this sort, which, while the master is paying his visits, or is at dinner, is occasionally given to the horses. Some refreshments of this kind, indeed, seemed absolutely necessary, as our horses never saw the stable from the time of leaving it in the morning, until they returned to it in the evening, or at midnight; and were kept during that interval, like those of our hackney-coaches, in the streets. During our continuance in this city we, not uncommonly, perceived about dinner-time, in the court-yards of those houses where we dined, many horses without bridles, and un-

harnessed from the respective carriages, browsing upon their portable provender strewed upon the ground; with them were intermixed different parties of coachmen and postilions, who at the same time gratified the calls of hunger upon a repast ready prepared, like that of their cattle, and which too required as little ceremony in serving up. The frequency of these objects soon rendered them familiar to us; and we ceased to look upon our trufs of hay as an excrescence.

The first visit we made in our new equipage was to our banker, who lived at the furthest extremity of one of the suburbs, about the distance of four miles from our inn. Our coachman drove us through the town with great expedition, generally in a brisk trot, and frequently a full gallop, without any distinction of paved or boarded streets. Having settled our business with the banker, who was our countryman, and who obligingly furnished us with a large collection of English news-papers, we crossed the Yauza over a raft-bridge to a palace, which was constructed for the accommodation of the present empress, whenever she may chuse to visit Moscow: this palace is not, according to our ordinary acceptation of the word, a single structure;

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but, in the true style of Asiatic grandeur, a vast assemblage of numerous buildings distributed into several streets, and bearing the appearance of a moderate town. The base of all these buildings is of stone, but of so soft a nature, that it seemed scarcely adequate to the support of the superstructure; the bricks used for the remainder of the fabric were so indifferently prepared, that they crumbled at the touch: nor did the workmanship exceed the materials; for it was obvious to the most careless observer, that the walls were in many places out of the perpendicular line.

I was astonished upon observing, that the greatest part of the timber, employed in the construction of these vast edifices, no less than ordinary cottages, was fashioned with the axe. Though I often saw the carpenters at work, I never once perceived a saw in their hands: they cut the trees through with the axe; they hewed planks with the axe; they formed the beams, and fitted them together with the axe. With this simple engine they mortised and tenanted the smallest as well as the largest pieces of wood; and smoothed the boards for the floor with the nicest exactness. The dexterity, indeed, and justness with which they managed this in-

strument was wonderful; but its tedious mode of operation must evidently occasion a prodigious waste of labour and wood.

The gardens, which belonged to the old palace, built by Elizabeth near the spot where the present structure was erecting, are still retained: they are of considerable extent, and contained some of the best gravel-walks I have seen since my departure from England. In some parts the grounds were laid out in a pleasing and natural manner; but in general the old style of gardening prevailed, and continually presented us with rows of clipped yew-trees, long straight canals, and a profusion of preposterous statues. Hercules was presiding at a fountain, with a retinue of gilded Cupids, dolphins and lamias: every little structure was a pantheon; and every grove was haunted by its Apollos and Dianas; but the principal deity in the place seemed to be a female figure holding a cornucopia reversed, which, instead of distributing, as usual, all kinds of fruit, grain, and flowers, poured out crowns, coronets, and mitres. But the reign of all these deities was doomed to be very short: under the auspices of her present majesty all these instances of grotesque taste were to be removed, and give place to more natural ornaments.

ments. This palace and gardens are at the extremity of the suburbs, within the compass of the exterior rampart which encircles the whole town.

We soon ceased to be surprized that our carriage was provided with six horses, as nothing was more common than to meet the equipages of the nobility with complete sets, driving merely about the streets of Moscow. As the city is of so large a compass, a great number of hackney-carriages are stationed in the streets for the convenience of carrying passengers to the different quarters. These vehicles are without tops, have mostly four wheels, and are provided either with a long bench, or one, two, or three separate seats, like arm-chairs, placed side-ways: their fares are so reasonable, that servants occasionally use them upon errands to distant parts of the city. The coachman generally drives a full trot, at the rate of eight or nine miles in an hour.

September 1. This morning we received a card of invitation from Count Osterman, governor of Moscow, to dinner for the 22d of August; but, as it was the 1st of September, our servant, who took the message, came laughing into the room, and informed us, that

that we were invited to an entertainment which was past: he added, that he had endeavoured to convince the person who brought the card of the mistake; but the man insisted that the ensuing day was the 22d of August. It was indeed a natural mistake in our servant, who did not know that the Russians still adhered to the old style; and as he had passed the 22d of August in Lithuania, it is no wonder that he was surprized at finding it again so soon at Moscow.

Until the reign of Peter the Great the Russians began their year in September, and dated their æra from the creation of the world *, and not from the nativity of our Saviour. In 1700 Peter instituted a grand jubilee at Moscow; and ordained, that from that period the year should commence in January, and be computed from the Christian æra, according to the old style then in use in England. Out of veneration to his memory no alteration has been since made in the Russian calendar; so that at present Russia, and some of the protestant Swiss republics, are the only European nations who still retain the old style.

* They reckoned also, according to the opinion of the Greeks, 5508 years, instead of only 3369, from the creation to the nativity.

The same morning we carried a letter of recommendation from count Stakelbergh, the Russian ambassador at Warsaw, to prince Volkonski governor of the province, who received us with great frankness and cordiality, and immediately invited us to dinner, desiring us to consider his table as ours as long as we continued at Moscow. The prince is in his 67th year, and remembered, when he was about thirteen, to have seen Peter the Great: him he described as very tall, above six feet in height, strong and well made, with his head slouching and awry, of a dark complexion, and a countenance continually subject to distortions; adding, he was generally dressed in his green uniform, or a plain brown coat; was remarkable for the fineness of his linen, wore his short black hair without powder, and whiskers. The prince amused us with relating several curious anecdotes of that great monarch, and amongst others, the following, which he received, from prince Mentchikof.

After the battle of Pultava, while prince Volkonski, the father of our noble host, was following Charles XII. with a corps of light horse, and was at no great distance from him, an aid-de-camp brought an order from Mentchikof to halt: he obeyed, but dispatched a messenger

messenger to acquaint the prince, that he was pursuing the king of Sweden with the fairest prospect of overtaking him. Mentchikof was greatly astonished at this message, as no orders for discontinuing the pursuit had issued from him: and his supposed aid-de-camp who delivered them was never discovered. As Peter, when informed of this transaction, instituted no inquiry concerning the person who had probably prevented the capture of his most formidable rival; it is suspected that the stratagem was contrived by himself, in order to avoid being embarrassed with a prisoner whom he would be unwilling either to release, or to detain long in captivity.

Nothing can exceed the hospitality of the Russians. We never paid a morning visit to any nobleman without being detained to dinner: we also constantly received several general invitations; but, considering them as mere compliments, we were unwilling to intrude ourselves without further notice. We soon found, however, that the principal persons of distinction kept open tables, and were highly obliged by our resorting to them without ceremony. Prince Volkonski in particular, having casually discovered that we had dined the preceding day at our inn, politely

lately upbraided us; repeating his assurances, that his table was ours, and that whenever we were not particularly engaged, he should always expect us for his guests. Indeed the strongest expressions can scarcely do justice to the attention and kindness of this excellent nobleman: not content with admitting us to his table without form, he was anxious that our curiosity should be gratified with the sight of every remarkable object at Moscow; he ordered his aid-de-camp to accompany us to different parts of the city; and as we were extremely desirous to become acquainted with Mr. Muller, the celebrated historian of this country, he one day invited that respectable old gentleman to meet us at dinner.

Mr. Muller speaks and writes the German, Russian, French, and Latin tongues with surprizing fluency; and reads the English, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Greek with great facility. His memory is still surprizing; and his accurate acquaintance with the minutest incidents of the Russian annals almost surpasses belief.

At the conclusion of the dinner at prince Volkonski's I had the pleasure of accompanying this eminent historian to his house, and passed some hours in his library. He possesses most of the books in the different
languages

languages of modern Europe which treat of Russia: the English writers who have written upon this country are far more numerous than I imagined. His collection of state-papers and manuscripts is invaluable: they are all arranged in the exactest order, and classed into several volumes, distinguished by the names of those illustrious personages to whom they principally relate; such as Peter I. Catharine I. Menchikof, Osterman, &c.

Every lover of literature must regret, that Mr. Muller, who is admirably qualified for the task, and has already prepared the materials, has not favoured the public with a regular, unbroken history of this country; but as, on account of his advanced age, an undertaking of this kind cannot now be expected from him, he must consign to others the use of those papers, which he has so diligently accumulated. He will, however, always be considered as the great father of Russian history, as well from the excellent specimens he himself has produced, as from the vast fund of information which he bequeaths to future historians.

Gerard Frederic Muller was born in 1705, at Herforden, in the circle of Westphalia. He received the early part of his education under his

his father, Thomas Muller, rector of the Gymnasium; in the 17th year of his age was removed to the university of Rinteln; and in the following year to Leipzig. Here he so greatly distinguished himself by his assiduity in prosecuting his studies, and by rapid advances in various branches of polite literature, that although only in the 20th year of his age, he was recommended to Peter the Great as a proper person to be appointed member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, which that monarch was preparing to institute. He arrived at Petersburg in November 1725, subsequent to the demise of Peter; but was immediately nominated, by Catherine the First, adjunct to the Imperial Academy. He read lectures, in the Latin tongue, on history and geography; and in 1730 was appointed professor of history, and member of the Imperial Academy. In the same year he began his travels into Germany, Holland, and England; and, during his residence in London, was chosen member of the Royal Society. Being deputed by the empress Anne to explore the extreme parts of Siberia, and the peninsula of Kamtchatka, he set out, on the 8th of August, 1733, on this celebrated expedition, in company with Steller, De Lisle, the elder Gmelin, and Krasheninnikof.

kof. The indefatigable traveller turned his principal attention to the history, geography, antiquities, manners, and customs of the various people and hordes of Siberia. He compiled or corrected maps of the districts which he visited; put into order the archives of the principal towns; and copied the most important documents.

The unremitting zeal and assiduity with which he continued his inquiries brought on a lingering nervous complaint, which prevented him from accompanying his fellow travellers; and compelled him to demand his recall. Having obtained the empress's permission to return, he saw his fellow-travellers depart with regret; but afterwards, recovering in some measure his health, he was impelled by curiosity and literary zeal to continue his travels into the extreme parts of Siberia, notwithstanding the fatigue of the journey, through an inhospitable country, and over rugged and almost impassable roads. He accordingly visited Irkutsk, Okotsk, and even penetrated to Yakutsk, where he arrived in 1736. In arranging the archives, he found the original account of the Russian navigations in the Frozen Ocean, and in the sea of Kamtschatka; and discovered that, near a century ago, Deshnef, a Russian navigator,

navigator, had taken his departure from the river Kovyma, sailed along the Frozen Ocean, and doubled the north-eastern promontory of Asia*; thus ascertaining a point which had long agitated the literary world, that the continents of Asia and America were separated by an arm of the sea. This important discovery, of which the Russians themselves had long remained ignorant, occasioned various attempts to discover the north-western coast of America, and gave rise to the expedition of captain Cook.

After near ten years absence, Mr. Muller returned to St. Petersburg in the beginning of 1743; and was received by the empress Elizabeth with great marks of distinction and favour. In 1747 he was appointed historiographer, and rector of the Imperial university; received other promotions at St. Petersburg; and at length was appointed, by the present empress, counsellor of state, and keeper of the archives at Moscow†.

His

* See Account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America.

† The empress purchased his fine collection of books and manuscripts for £.2000. This great patroness of letters consigned also to him the charge of arranging and printing, at her expence, a Collection of Russian Treaties,

His principal work, a Collection of Russian Histories, contains, among other curious and interesting articles, an account of the early Russian history, drawn from the Byzantine historians, from the antient Sclavonian chronicles, and from Snorro Sturlensis, an historian of Norway; various histories and transactions of the Calmuc Tartars; of the Zaporavian Cossacs; on the Commerce and Possessions of the Genoese on the Coasts of the Black Sea, and at Azof; History of the Russian and Chinese Settlements on the River Amoor; History and Commerce of Siberia; History of Russia, from the Reign of Boris Godunof to the Accession of Michael Feodorovitch; Remarkable Things in Asiatic Russia, and in Turkey in Asia; on the Russian Trade to China; Natural History of the Districts between the Don and Dnieper; Account of Novgorod, Dorpat, Pernau, and Riga.

From the numerous journals in the archives of Yakutsk, and from the mass of intelligence

in the form of Dumont's *Corps Diplomatique*; but the death of the learned historian interrupted its completion. He died on the 16th of October 1783, in the 78th year of his age; Catherine, a short time before his death, honoured Mr. Muller with the order of St. Vladimir; and has testified her respect to his memory by ennobling his family.

derived

derived from tradition, and collected from the natives, he compiled an "Account of the Russian Voyages and Discoveries along the Coasts of the Frozen Sea, and in the Eastern Ocean towards Japan and America," beginning from the year 1636, and ending with the expedition of Bering and Tchirikof in 1741 and 1742; to which publication I acknowledge myself greatly indebted for my account of the Russian discoveries.

To these works the accurate and indefatigable writer successively added many other valuable performances on similar subjects, both in the German and Russian languages, which elucidate the history and topography of this vast empire.

September 10. This day being sacred to Alexander Nevski, a saint highly revered by the Russians, and in whose honour an order of knighthood is instituted, was kept with great solemnity and magnificence. Service was performed in the principal churches of Moscow with all the pageantry peculiar to the Greek religion; and the governor of the province gave a splendid entertainment, to which the principal nobility and clergy of this city were invited. As strangers we were desirous of observing the ceremonies

of the day, and by the attention of our acquaintance our curiosity was amply gratified. But before I proceed to give a description of what occurred upon this occasion; it may be necessary to premise a short account of the saint who gave rise to this festival, and who, though adored by the Russians, is scarcely known beyond the limits of this country.

Alexander Nevski, a name more respectable than most of the saints who fill the Russian calendar, was son of the great-duke Yaroslav, and flourished in the beginning of the 13th century, at a period when his country had been reduced to the utmost extremity by a combination of formidable enemies. He repulsed an army of Swedes and Teutonic knights, and wounded the king of Sweden with his own hand on the bank of the Neva, from whence he obtained the appellation of Nevski. He defeated the Tartars in several engagements, and delivered his country from a disgraceful tribute imposed by the successors of Zinghis Khan. His life seems to have been almost one continued scene of action; and he shewed such prowess, and performed such almost incredible acts of valour, that it is no wonder an ignorant and superstitious people should consider him as a superior being,

§

being, and consecrate his memory: indeed, of all idolatry, that which is paid to real merit, and in gratitude for real services, is the most natural and the most excusable. He died about the year 1262, at Gorodetz, near Nishnei Novogorod. The great superiority of his character was evinced, as well by victories which distinguished the Russian arms during his life, as by the numerous defeats which immediately took place on his decease.

The morning of this anniversary was ushered in by the ringing of bells uncommonly loud; incessant peals resounded in every quarter of the city, but more particularly in the Kremlin, which contains the principal churches and the largest bells. Before eleven we paid our respects to prince Volkonski, who, as governor of the province of Moscow, had a levee: he wore the red ribband of the order of St. Alexander, and received the compliments of the principal nobility and gentry. From the levee we repaired to the cathedral of St. Michael, and were present at high mass, performed by the archbishop of Rostof. The church was filled with such an immense concourse of people, that

it was with the utmost difficulty we could penetrate to the bottom of the steps leading to the shrine, at the top of which the bishop stood whenever he came forth to address the congregation. The confusion arising from the croud, and the rapid succession of various ceremonies, so distracted our attention, as to render us incapable of discriminating the different parts of the service. We could only observe in general a great display of pomp and splendour, and many ceremonies similar to those described on a former occasion *, with the addition of several others appropriated to the greater festivals of the Russian church.

At the conclusion of the service, which lasted two hours, we returned to prince Volkonski's; where about ninety persons were assembled at an entertainment given in honour of the day: when the archbishop of Rostof entered the room, the prince rose to meet him at the door, and kissed his hand after the prelate had made the sign of the cross; he paid the same mark of respect to two other bishops; and the greatest part of

* P. 324.

the company successively followed the prince's example. Being presented to the archbishop, I had the honour of holding a long conversation with him in the Latin tongue, which he spoke with great fluency. He appeared to be a sensible well-informed man, and well versed in various branches of literature: he had perused the works of several of our best divines, either originally written, or translated into Latin, and mentioned their compositions with much applause. I troubled him with several questions relative to the service of the Russian church, which he answered with great readiness and condescension. He told me that the Bible is translated into Sclavonian; that the liturgy is written in that language, which is the mother-tongue of the Russian; and that therefore the style of the sacred writings, though somewhat antient and obsolete, is yet understood without much difficulty even by the common people. He informed me, that the clergy are divided into secular and regular priests: that the latter, from whom are chosen the dignitaries of the church, are not permitted to marry; that the seculars are the parish-priests, and from a literal observation of St. Paul's precept, " the husband

"of one wife," are required, as a qualification for orders, to marry; and, on the spirit of the same tenet, are after the death of their wives deemed unfit for the sacred function. The disqualification arising from widowhood may, indeed, be healed by the bishop's dispensation*; but the operation of a second marriage is final, and irrevocably divorces from the altar. The archbishop was politely continuing to acquaint me with many other circumstances peculiar to their ecclesiastical establishment, when the conversation was interrupted by a summons to dinner. A small table in the corner of the withdrawing room, as is the usual custom in this country, had been previously covered with plates of caviare, red-herring, bread, butter, and cheese, and different sorts of *liqueurs*; to which the company helped themselves before they adjourned to dinner.

About ninety persons sat down to table. The entertainment was splendid and profuse. During the second course, a large glass with a cover was brought to prince Volkonski;

* In general the secular priest, when a widower, is received into a monastery.

who,

who, standing up, delivered the cover to the archbishop, who sat next him, filled the glass with champagne, and drank the empress's health, which was accompanied with a discharge of cannon. The archbishop followed his example, and the glass was in like manner circulated round the table. The healths of the great-duke, of the great-duchess, and of their son prince Alexander, were then successively toasted with the same ceremonies; after which count Panin arose, and drinking a return of thanks to prince Volkonski as master of the feast, was joined by the whole company. When each toast was named by the prince, all the persons at table got up out of respect, and remained standing while he drank. The reader will excuse the mention of these particulars on this and other occasions; as they may be deemed not unworthy of notice, because they are sometimes characteristics of national manners.

During our stay at Moscow we frequently experienced the hospitality of count Alexèy Orlof, who, in the last war with the Porte, commanded the Russian fleet in the Archipelago, and burnt the Turkish armament in the bay of Tchesme, for which action he has been honoured with the title of Tchesminski.

The

The custom of conferring an additional name for the performance of signal services to the country, was, in imitation of the Romans, usually practised by Constantine and his successors the Greek emperors, who reigned at Constantinople. From that quarter it probably passed to the Russians, who in the earlier times of their history gave appellations of this kind to some of their illustrious leaders. Thus the great-duke Alexander was called Nevski for his victory over the Swedes near the Neva; and his great-grandson Demetrius Ivanovitch was denominated Donski, for his conquest of the Tartars upon the banks of the Don. This custom, which had long been discontinued, has been lately revived by the present empress. Accordingly Marshal Romanzof received the denomination of Zadunaiski from his victories south of the Danube; prince Dolgorucki that of Crimski for his successes in the Crimea; and count Orlof this of Tchefminski from the action in the bay of Tchefme.

The house of count Orlof is situated at the extremity of one of the suburbs, upon an elevated spot, commanding a fine view of the vast city of Moscow and the neighbouring country. A number of separate buildings occupy

occupy a large tract of ground. The offices, stables, manage, and other detached structures, are entirely of brick; the foundation and lower story of the dwelling-house are built with the same materials; but the upper part is of wood*, neatly painted of a green colour. We carried a letter of recommendation from prince Stanislaus Poniatowski, the king of Poland's nephew, to the count, who received us with great frankness and cordiality, and detained us at dinner: he desired us to lay aside all form; adding, that he was a plain man, had a high esteem for the English nation, and should be happy to render us every service in his power during our stay at Moscow. We had the pleasure of dining several times with him, and always met with the most polite reception. The count seemed to live in the true style of old Russian hospitality; kept an open table, abounding with a great variety of Greek wines, which he brought with him from his expedition into the Archipelago. One dish, served on

* Wooden houses are by many persons in this country supposed to be warmer and more wholesome than those of brick and stone, which is the reason why several of the Russian nobility chuse that part of the house, which they inhabit themselves, to be constructed with wood.

his plentiful board, must be particularly mentioned as extremely delicious, and only inferior to our best venison; it was a quarter of an Astracan sheep, remarkable for the quantity and flavour of the fat *.

We had music during dinner, which indeed generally made a part of the entertainment at the tables of the nobility. We observed also another very usual instance of parade; namely, a great number of retainers and dependents, mixed with servants, but seldom assisting in any menial office: they occasionally stood round their lord's chair, and seemed infinitely pleased whenever they were distinguished by a nod or a smile. In this train there was an Armenian not long arrived from Mount Caucasus, who, agreeably to the custom of his country, inhabited a tent

* In the court-yard I observed several sheep of this species ranging about the stables, so perfectly tame that they suffered us to stroke them. They are almost as large as fallow deer, but with much shorter legs: they have no horns, long flowing ears, and, instead of tails, a large bunch of fat, sometimes weighing thirty pounds. Mr. Pennant has given an engraving of these sheep in his History of Quadrupeds, which he has accompanied with an accurate description.

pitched

pitched in the garden, and covered with a thick kind of felt. His dress consisted of a long loose robe tied with a sash, large breeches, and boots: his hair was cut, in the manner of the Tartars, in a circular form; his arms were a poignard, and a bow of buffalo's horn strung with the sinews of the same animal. He was extremely attached to his master: when he was first presented, he voluntarily took an oath of fealty, and swore, in the true language of Eastern hyperbole, to attack all the count's enemies; offering, as a proof of the sincerity of this declaration to cut off his own ears; he also wished that all the sickness, which at any time threatened his master, might be transferred to himself. He examined our clothes, and seemed delighted with pointing out the superiority of his own dress in the article of convenience; he threw himself into different attitudes with uncommon agility, and defied us to follow his example; he danced a Calmuc dance, which consisted in straining every muscle, and writhing his body into various contortions without stirring from the spot: he beckoned us into the garden, took great pleasure in showing us his tent and

and his arms; and shot several arrows to an amazing height. We were struck with the unartificial character of this Armenian, who seemed like a wild-man just beginning to be civilized.

Count Orlof, who is very fond of the manage, is esteemed to have, though not the largest, yet the finest stud in Russia; and he was so obliging as to gratify our curiosity by carrying us to see it near his country-house, at the distance of about fifteen miles from Moscow. He conveyed us in his own carriage drawn by six horses, harnessed with ropes, and placed two in front, and four a-breast in the hinder row: an empty coach, with six horses, ranged two by two, followed for parade. He was attended by four hussars, and the above-mentioned Armenian accoutred with his bow and quiver: the latter continually shouted and waved his hand with the strongest expressions of transport; he occasionally galloped his horse close to the carriage, then suddenly stopped and wheeled round to the right or left with great rapidity.

In our route we passed several large convents, furrounded, like many of the monasteries

nasteries in this country, with strong walls and battlements of brick, so as to have the appearance of small fortresses; crossed the Moskva twice, and came in about two hours into a spacious circular plain of luxuriant pasture, in the midst of which rises an insulated hill, with the count's house on the top. This seat commands a beautiful view of the circular plain, watered by the Moskva, and skirted by gentle hills, whose sides present a rich variety of wood, corn, and pastures.

The greatest part of the stud was grazing in the plain: it consisted of a considerable number of the finest stallions, and above sixty brood-mares, most of whom had foals. The collection was gleaned from the most distant quarters of the globe, from Arabia, Turkey, Tartary, Persia, and England. The count obtained the Arabians during his expedition in the Archipelago, some as presents from Ali-Bey, others by purchase or by conquest from the Turks: amongst these he chiefly prized four horses (two of which we had noticed in the manage at Moscow) of the true *Cochlean* breed, so much esteemed in Arabia, and so seldom seen out of their native country.

The

The count, after having politely attended us himself to the stud and about the grounds, regaled us with a most elegant entertainment, at which his vivacity lent charms to his splendour and hospitality. In our return to Moscow, we made a circuit to a small village about six miles from the capital, where a villa was erecting for the empress, called Tzaricino: it consisted, besides the principal building, of eight or ten detached structures in the Gothic taste, which were prettily dispersed among the plantations. The situation is romantic, a rising ground backed with wood, and a large piece of water embracing the foot of the hill.

I cannot forbear to mention in this place an act of almost Eastern magnificence, which this visit some time afterwards occasioned. One morning in the ensuing winter, at Petersburg, one of the finest among the Arabian horses, which Lord Herbert had greatly admired at Moscow, was sent to him, accompanied with the following note.

“ My Lord, I observed that this horse
 “ pleased you, and therefore desire your ac-
 “ ceptance of him. I received him as a pre-
 “ sent from Ali-Bey. He is a true Arabian
 “ of

“ of the Cochlean race, and in the late war
“ was brought by the Russian ships from
“ Arabia to me while I was in the Archipe-
“ lago. I wish he may be as serviceable to
“ you as he has been to me; and I remain,
“ with esteem, your obedient servant,

“ Count ALEXEY ORLOF
TCHESMINSKI.”

This valuable horse was sent from Peterf-
burgh to England, and is now in the Earl of
Pembroke's possession.

At the close of an entertainment, which
the count one day gave us at Moscow, he in-
troduced us to the sight of a Russian boxing-
match, which is a favourite diversion among
the common people. We repaired to the
manage, where we found about three hundred
peasants assembled. They divided themselves
into two parties, each of which chose a chief,
who called out the combatants, and pitted
them against each other: only a single pair
was allowed to engage at the same time.
They did not strip as with us, and had on
thick leathern gloves with thumb pieces, but
with no separations for the fingers. From
the stiffness of the leather they could scarcely
double their fists; and many of them struck

open-handed. Their attitudes were very different from those used by boxers in England: they advanced the left foot and side; stretched the left arm towards the adversary in order to repel his blows; and kept the right arm swinging at some distance from the other. They generally struck in a circular direction at the face and head, never attacked the breast or sides, and seemed to have no notion of aiming a blow directly forwards. When any combatant felled his antagonist to the ground, he was declared victor, and the contest between that pair immediately ceased. During our stay we were witness to about twenty successive combats. Some of the men were of vast strength; but their mode of fighting prevented any mischief from its exertion; nor did we perceive any of those fractures and contusions in which boxing-matches in England so frequently terminate. Both parties were highly interested in favour of their respective champions; and seemed at times inclined to enter the lists in their support; but the first appearance of dispute, or growing heat, was humanely checked by the count, who acted as mediator: a kind word, or even a nod from him, instantly composed all differences. When he appeared desirous to put
an

an end to the combats, they humbly requested his permission to honour them with his presence a little longer; upon his assent, they bowed their heads to the ground, and seemed as pleased as if they had received the highest favour. The count is greatly beloved by his peasants; and their stern countenances would melt into the most affectionate softness at his approach.

We made an agreeable excursion to Mikaulka, the villa of count Peter Panin, a Russian nobleman of the first distinction, who signalized himself in the late war against the Turks, by the taking of Bender; and more recently by the defeat and capture of the rebel Pugatchef. This villa is situated at the distance of six miles from Moscow, in the midst of a large forest. The count originally purposed to have raised a grand edifice of brick, after a design of his late wife: but upon her death he abandoned this project, and contented himself with a comfortable wooden house at the extremity of his grounds, which he at first erected only as a temporary habitation. His offices, stables, coach-houses, dog-kennels, lodgings for his huntsmen and other menial servants, form two long rows of de-

tached wooden buildings, all with uniform fronts and neatly painted. The grounds are prettily laid out in the style of our parks, with gentle slopes, spacious lawns of the finest verdure, scattered plantations, and a large piece of water fringed with wood. We could not avoid feeling extreme satisfaction at observing, that the English style of gardening had penetrated even into these distant regions. The English taste, indeed, can certainly display itself in this country to great advantage, where the parks are extensive, and the verdure, during their short summer, uncommonly beautiful. Most of the Russian nobles have gardeners of our nation, and resign themselves implicitly to their direction. The count, who is fond of country diversions, had a pack of hounds chiefly of the English breed, consisting of an indiscriminate mixture of harriers, stag and fox-hounds, selected without any regard to their sizes or sorts. With this same pack he hunted wolves, deer, foxes, and hares. He possessed likewise a fine breed of Russian greyhounds, in high estimation for their swiftness: they are shaggy and wire-haired, and some of them are taller than the largest Newfoundland dog I ever saw.

The

The count entertained us with a most sumptuous dinner: we were particularly struck with the quantity and quality of the fruit which made its appearance in the desert: pines, peaches, apricots, grapes, pears, cherries, none of which can in this country be obtained without the assistance of hot-houses, were served in the greatest profusion. There was a delicious species of small melon, which had been sent by land carriage from Astracan to Moscow, though at the distance of a thousand miles *. One instance of elegance which distinguished the desert, and had the prettiest effect imaginable, must not be omitted: at the upper and lower end of the table were placed two china vases containing cherry-trees in full leaf, and fruit hanging on the boughs, which was gathered by the company. We observed also in the desert a curious species of apple, which is not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Moscow: it is somewhat larger than a golden-pippin, is of the colour and transparency of pale amber, and has an exquisite flavour; the Russians call it *Navl-*

* These melons sometimes cost five pounds apiece, and at other times they may be purchased in the markets of Moscow for less than half a crown apiece.

nich. The tree thrives here in the open air without any particular attention to its culture, but degenerates in other countries; its slips and seed, when planted in a foreign soil, have hitherto produced only a common sort of apple, but never the transparent species.

In returning from Mikaulka we passed close to the villa of count Razomoufki Hetman of the Ukraine, which had more the resemblance of a little town than a country house. It consisted of forty or fifty buildings of different sizes; some of brick, others of wood; some painted, and others plain. The count maintains his guard, a numerous train of retainers, and a large band of musicians. The Russian nobles display a great degree of grandeur and magnificence in their houses, domesticks, and way of living. Their palaces at and near Moscow are stupendous piles of buildings; and I am informed that their mansions, at a distance from Moscow and Peterburgh, are upon a still grander scale; where they reside as independent princes, like the feudal barons in early times; have their separate courts of justice, and govern their vassals with an almost unlimited sway.

I did not expect to have found in this northern

thern climate a kind of Vauxhall, which our curiosity led us to visit. It is situated at the furthest extremity of the suburbs in a sequestered spot, which has more the appearance of the country than of a town. We entered by a covered way, similar to that at our Vauxhall, into the gardens, which were splendidly illuminated. There was an elegant rotunda for the company to walk in, either in cold or rainy weather, and several apartments for tea or supper. The entrance money was four shillings. The proprietor is an Englishman, whose name is Mattocks. The encouragement he met with from the natives on this occasion had enabled him to engage in constructing, at a very considerable expence, a spacious theatre of brick; and, as an indemnification, he had obtained from the empress an exclusive patent for all plays, and public masquerades, during ten years from the time of its completion.

The finest view of Moscow is from an eminence about four or five miles from the town, of which I have forgotten the Russian name, but its signification in English is Sparrow-hill: upon this eminence were the ruins of a large palace built by Alexèy Michael-

vitch. Upon our return we stopped at Vasiliofski, the villa of prince Dolgorucki, which stands upon the brow of the same hill. The Moskva, which is here broader than in its usual course, runs at its foot in a semicircle; and the vast city of Moscow lies open before it: the house is a large wooden building, to which we ascended by three terrasses. The present possessor of this villa is prince Dolgorucki Crimski, who distinguished himself by his repeated victories over the Turks in the Crimea, and by the conquest of that peninsula. The models of several fortresses which he besieged and took, are placed in the gardens; I particularly remarked those of Yenikale, Kerfch, and Precop.

In passing through the apartments, the various reverses of fortune which have befallen the family of Dolgorucki, occurred forcibly to my recollection; especially when I surveyed the portrait of the princess Catharine Dolgorucki, whose adventures, so pathetically described by Mrs. Vigor*, afford one of the most affecting stories in the annals of history. That unfortunate princess, after having been

* See Letters from Russia, by a Lady.

torn from the person she loved, was betrothed against her inclination to the emperor Peter II. On his decease she became a momentary sovereign; but was almost instantly hurried from the palace to a dungeon, where she languished during the whole reign of the empress Anne. Being at length released upon the accession of Elizabeth, she married count Bruce, and died without leaving any issue.

CHAP. III.

Number of churches in Moscow.—Description of the most antient.—Their outward structure.—Interior divisions.—Worship of painted images.—Description of an enormous bell.—Principal buildings in the Kremlin.—Antient palace.—Convent of Tschudof.—Nunnery of Viefnovitskoi.—Cathedral of St. Michael.—Tombs and characters of the Tzars.—Genealogical tables of the sovereigns of Moscow of the house of Ruric.—Of different families.—Of the line of Romanof.

THE places of divine worship at Moscow are exceedingly numerous; including chapels, they amount to above a thousand: there are 484 public churches, of which 199 are of brick, and the others of wood; the former are commonly stuccoed or white-washed, the latter painted of a red colour.

The most antient churches of Moscow are generally square buildings, with a cupola and

four small domes *, some whereof are of copper or iron gilt; others of iron tinned, either plain or painted green. These cupolas and domes are for the most part ornamented with crosses entwined with thin chains or wires: each cross has two transverse bars †, the upper horizontal, the lower inclining; which, according to the supposition of many Russians, is supposed to have been the form of the real cross, and that our Saviour was nailed to it with his arms in an horizontal position, and one of the legs higher than the other. I frequently observed a crescent under the lower bar, the meaning of which no one could explain ‡.

The

* The church of the Holy Trinity, sometimes called the Church of Jerusalem, which stands in the Khitaigorod, close to the gate leading into the Kremlin, has a kind of high steeple and nine or ten domes: it was built in the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch II. An engraving of that, as well as of some of the more antient churches, may be seen in Olearius and Le Brun's Travels.

† I am here describing the most antient churches; the modern crosses over those of St. Peterburgh are mostly single.

‡ Dr. King accounts for the crescent in the following ingenious manner. "Some churches have a crescent under the cross; for when the Tartars, to whom Muscovy was subjected two hundred years, converted any

" of

The inside of the church is mostly composed of three parts; that called by the Greeks *προναος*, by the Russians Trapeza; the body; and the sanctuary or shrine.

In the body of the church there are frequently four square pillars, very thick and heavy, for the purpose of supporting the cupola: these pillars, as well as the walls and cielings, are painted with innumerable representations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and of different saints. Many of the figures are enormously large, and are executed in the rudest manner; some are daubed upon the bare walls; others upon large massive plates of silver or brass, or enclosed in frames of those metals. The head of each figure is invariably decked with a glory; which is a massy semicircle, greatly resembling an horseshoe, of brass, silver, or gold, and sometimes composed almost entirely of pearls and pre-

“ of the churches into mosques for the use of their own
“ religion, they fixed the crescent, the badge of Mahome-
“ tanism, upon them: and when the grand-duke Ivan Ba-
“ silovitch had delivered his country from the Tartar yoke,
“ and restored those edifices to the Christian worship, he
“ left the crescent remaining, and planted a cross upon it
“ as a mark of its victory over its enemy.” Rites and
Ceremonies of the Greek Church, p. 23.

cious

cious stones. Some of the favourite saints are adorned with filken drapery fastened to the walls, and studded with jewels; some are painted upon a gold ground, and others are gilded in all parts but their face and hands. Towards the extremity of the body of the church is a flight of steps leading to the shrine; and between these steps and the shrine is usually a platform, upon which the officiating minister stands and performs part of the service.

The shrine or sanctuary is divided from the body of the church by the *Inconostas*, or skreen, generally the part the most richly ornamented, and on which the most holy pictures are painted or hung*. In its centre are the folding, called the holy, royal, or beautiful doors, which lead to the shrine, within which is the holy table, as Dr. King

* "On the north side of the royal doors the picture of the Virgin is always placed, and that of Jesus on the south; next to which is that of the saint to whom the church is dedicated; the situation of the rest is indifferent. Candles or lamps are usually suspended before the images of Jesus and the Virgin, and several others, and sometimes kept perpetually burning." Dr. King on the Greek church, p. 29; to which book I would refer the reader who desires further information on the subject.

well describes it, "with four small columns
 "to support a canopy over it: from which
 "a *peristerion*, or dove, is suspended, as a
 "symbol of the Holy Ghost; upon the holy
 "table the cross is always laid, and the
 "Gospel, and the pyxis, or box, in which
 "a part of the consecrated elements is pre-
 "served, for visiting the sick or other pur-
 "poses*."

It is contrary to the tenets of the Greek religion to admit a carved image within the churches, in conformity to the prohibition in Scripture, "Thou shalt not make to thyself
 "a graven image," &c. By not considering, however, the prohibition as extending to representations by painting, the Greek canonists, while they have followed the letter, have departed from the spirit of the commandment, which positively forbids us to worship the likeness of any thing under whatever form, or in whatever manner it may be delineated: for if we transfer our adoration from the Creator to any object of his creation; it is of little consequence whether we bow down to the productions of the painter, or to those of the sculptor.

* Dr. King on the Greek church, p. 26.

Over the door of each church is the portrait of the saint to whom it is dedicated; to which the common people pay their homage as they pass, by taking off their hats, crossing themselves, and occasionally touching the ground with their heads, a ceremony which I often saw them repeat nine or ten times in succession.

Before I close the general description of the Russian churches, I must not forget their bells, which form, I may almost say, no inconsiderable part of divine worship in this country; as the length or shortness of their peals ascertains the greater or lesser sanctity of the day. They are hung in belfreys detached from the church: they do not swing like our bells, but are fixed immoveably to the beams, are rung by a rope tied to the clapper, and pulled sideways. Some of these bells are of a stupendous size: one in the tower of St. Ivan's church weighs 3551 Russian poods, or 127,836 English pounds. It has always been esteemed a meritorious act of religion to present a church with bells; and the piety of the donor has been measured by their magnitude. According to this mode of estimation, Boris Godunof, who gave a bell of 288,000 pounds to the cathedral of Moscow,

cow, was the most pious sovereign of Russia, until he was surpassed by the empress Anne; at whose expence a bell was cast weighing 432,000 pounds, and which exceeds in bigness every bell in the known world. Its size is so enormous, that I could scarcely have given credit to the account of its magnitude if I had not examined it myself, and ascertained its dimensions with great exactness. Its height is nineteen feet, its circumference at the bottom twenty-one yards eleven inches, its greatest thickness twenty-three inches*. The beam to which this vast machine was fastened being accidentally burnt; the bell fell down, and a fragment was broken off towards the bottom, which left an aperture large enough to admit two persons a-breast without stooping.

Our inn being close to the walls of Kremlin, I had frequent opportunities of examining its principal buildings.

The palace, inhabited by the antient tzars, stands at the extremity of the Kremlin. Part of this palace is old, and continues in the same state in which it was built under Ivan

* Mr. Hanway, in his Travels, has given an accurate description and engraving of this bell.

Vassilievitch

Vassilievitch I. The remainder has been successively added at different intervals without any plan, and in various styles of architecture; which has produced a motley pile of building, remarkable for nothing but the incongruity of the several structures. The top is thickly set with numerous little gilded spires and globes; and a large portion of the front is decorated with the arms of all the provinces, which compose the Russian empire. The apartments are in general exceedingly small, excepting one single room, called the council-chamber, in which the antient tzars used to give audience to foreign ambassadors; and which has been repeatedly described by several English travellers, who visited Moscow before the Imperial residence was transferred to Petersburg. The room is large and vaulted; and has in the centre an enormous pillar of stone, which supports the cieling *.

This palace, in which the tzars formerly held their courts in all the splendour of

* "The roof of the audience-chamber was arched and supported by a great pillar in the middle." Lord Carlisle's Embassy, p. 149. In the feast which Alexèy Michaelovitch gave to the Earl of Carlisle, this great pillar was adorned with a wonderful variety of gold and silver vessels, p. 292.

Eastern pomp*, was once esteemed by the natives an edifice of unparalleled magnificence: it is, since the late improvements in architecture,

* The author of Lord Carlisle's Embassy describes, in the following hyperbolic expressions, the Asiatic magnificence of the court of Alexèy Michaelovitch, at the first audience of the ambassadors. " And here (in the audience chamber) it was we were like those who coming suddenly out of the dark are dazzled with the brightness of the sun: the splendour of their jewels seeming to contend for priority with that of the day; so that we were lost as it were in this confusion of glory. The tzar, like a sparkling sun, (to speak in the Russian dialect) darted forth most sumptuous rays, being most magnificently placed upon his throne, with his sceptre in his hand, and having his crown on his head. His throne was of massive silver gilt, wrought curiously on the top with several works and pyramids; and being seven or eight steps higher than the floor, it rendered the person of the prince transcendently majestic. The sceptre glittered all over with jewels, his vest was set with the like from top to the bottom down the opening before, and his collar was answerable to the same. By his side he had four of the tallest lords standing below his throne, each of them with a battle-ax upon his shoulder, and with a profound gravity casting their eyes now and then upon the tzar, as inviting us to an admiration of his grandeur. Their habits were no less remarkable than their countenances, being all four of them, from the top of their head to the sole of their foot, clothed in white vests of ermine, and having chains of gold. But that which was farther admirable was the glorious
" equipage

ture, far surpassed by the ordinary mansions of the nobility, and by no means calculated even for the temporary residence of the sovereign. In this palace Peter the Great came into the world, in the year 1672; an event here mentioned, not only because it is remarkable in the annals of this country, but because the Russians themselves were, till very lately, ignorant of the place in which their favourite hero was born. That honour was usually ascribed to Columna, which, on that supposition, has been profanely styled the Bethlehem of Russia; but the judicious Muller has unquestionably proved, that the Imperial palace of Moscow was the place of Peter's nativity *. I was greatly disappointed that we could not view that part of the palace called the treasury. The keeper be-

" equipage of the Boyars present at this audience, who
" were as so many beams of the sun elevated in his tri-
" umphant car, and seemed to have no lustre but to do
" homage withal to their great monarch. They were
" about two hundred, clothed all with vests of cloth of
" gold, cloth of silver, or velvet set with jewels, all placed
" in order upon benches covered with tapestry," &c.
p. 147. to 149. The reader will find many descriptions
of the tzar's magnificence and court, in the several ac-
counts of the different embassies in Hackluyt's Collection
of Voyages.

* See Journ. St. Pet.

ing lately dead, the door was sealed up, and could not be opened, until a successor was appointed. Beside the crown, jewels, and royal robes, used at the coronation of the sovereign, this repository, as we were informed, contains several curiosities, which relate to and illustrate the history of this country.

There are two convents in the Kremlin; one is a nunnery, and the other a monastery for men, called Tschudof. The latter does not merit any particular description; I entered it merely because it is well known in the Russian history as the place wherein the tzar Vassili Shuiski was confined, A. D. 1610, after his deposition, and from whence he was taken in order to be carried into Poland: where he only exchanged one prison for another still more dismal; and where he fell a victim to his own disappointment and chagrin, as well as to the ill-treatment of the Poles. We are naturally led to compassionate the fate of an exiled and deposed monarch, who dragged on a miserable existence amidst the horrors of perpetual imprisonment: but the black ingratitude of Vassili Shuiski towards Demetrius, his sovereign and benefactor, almost extinguishes our sense of his calamities. For even
if

if the person who assumed the name of Demetrius was an impostor, Shuiski, when condemned for high-treason to an ignominious death, was indebted to him for his pardon; an act of clemency ill requited by the deposition and murder of his benefactor*.

The nunnery, called Viesnovitskoi, was founded in 1393 by Eudoxia, wife of the great-duke Dmitri Ivanovitch Donski. The abbess politely accompanied us over the convent, and pointed out every object in the least degree worthy of attention. She first conducted us to the principal chapel, which contained the tombs of several tzarinas and princesses of the Imperial family. The tombs are a kind of stone-coffins laid on the floor, and ranged in rows very near each other: some were inclosed with brass, and others with iron ballustrades, but the greatest number had no distinction of this sort. Each sepulchre was covered with a pall of crimson or black velvet, ornamented with an embroidered cross in the middle, and edged with a border of gold and silver lace: over these, on great festivals, are laid other coverings of gold and silver tissue, richly studded with pearls

* See Chap. VII.

and precious stones. The foundress of the convent is a saint, and is buried under the altar. The abbess very obligingly presented me with a MS. Russian account of the princesses, who are interred in the church. After we had fully examined these repositories of the dead, and surveyed the rich vestments of the priests, and the figures of various saints painted on the walls, the abbess invited us into her apartments. She led the way, and at the top of the stairs, as we entered the antichamber, struck the floor two or three blows with her ivory-handled cane; when a chorus of about twenty nuns received us with hymns, which they continued singing as long as we staid: the melody was not unpleasing. In an adjoining room tea was served to the company, and a table was plentifully spread with pickled herrings, slices of salt-fish, cheese, bread, butter, and cakes; champagne and *liqueurs* were presented by the abbess herself. After we had partaken of these refreshments, we attended the abbess through the apartments of the nuns; many of whom were employed in embroidering sacerdotal habits for the archbishop of Moscow: and we then took our leave.

The

The nuns wore a long robe of black stuff, black veils, black forehead-cloth, and black wrappers under the chin. The abbess was distinguished by a robe of black silk. The nuns are totally prohibited from meat, living chiefly upon fish, eggs, and vegetables. In other respects the order is not rigid; and they are allowed to pay occasional visits in the town.

I have already had occasion to mention the great number of churches contained in this city. The Kremlin is not without its share; in a small compass I counted eight almost contiguous to each other. Two of these churches, that of St. Michael, and that of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, are remarkable; the one for being the place where the sovereigns of Russia were formerly interred; and the other where they are crowned. These edifices are in the same style of architecture; and were probably constructed by Solarius of Milan, who built the walls of the Kremlin. Though the architect was obliged to conform his plan to the taste of ecclesiastical buildings which prevailed at that time in Russia; yet their exterior form is not absolutely inelegant, although it is an oblong

square, and much too high in proportion to the breadth.

In the cathedral of St. Michael I viewed the tombs of the Russian sovereigns. The bodies are not, as with us, deposited in vaults, or beneath the pavement, but are entombed in raised sepulchres, mostly of brick, in the shape of a coffin, and about two feet in height. When I visited the cathedral, the most antient were covered with palls of red cloth, others of red velvet, and that of Peter II. with gold tissue*, bordered with silver fringe and ermine. Each tomb has at its lower extremity a small silver plate, upon which is engraved the name of the deceased sovereign, and the era of his death.

From the time that Moscow became the Imperial residence to the close of the last century, all the tzars have been interred in this cathedral; excepting Boris Godunof, whose remains are deposited in the convent of the Holy Trinity†; the tzar under the

* Upon great festivals all the sepulchres are covered with rich palls of gold or silver brocade, fringed with pearls and jewels.

† See Chap. VI.

name of Demetrius *, who was destroyed in a tumult; and Vassili Shuiski, who died in captivity at Warfaw.

The tomb of Ivan Vassilievitch I. who may justly be esteemed the founder of the Russian greatness, claimed my principal attention. At his accession to the throne in 1462, Russia formed a collection of petty principalities engaged in perpetual wars with each other, some of them nominally subject to the great-duke of Moscow, and all of them, together with that monarch himself, tributary to the Tartars †. Ivan, in the course of a prosperous reign of above forty years, gave a new aspect to the Russian affairs: he annexed to his dominions the duchies of Tver and other neighbouring prin-

* See Chap. VII.

† The servitude of the great-duke will best appear from the following circumstances, recorded by Cromer the Polish historian. "Whenever the Tartar ambassadors were sent to Moscow in order to collect the accustomed tribute, the great-duke used to meet them, and offer, as a mark of his respect, a cup of mare's milk; and if a drop chanced to fall upon the mane of the horse on which the Tartar ambassador was sitting, he would himself lick it up. When they reached the hall of audience, the ambassadors read the khan's letter seated upon a carpet of the choicest furs, while the great-duke with his nobles knelt, and listened in respectful silence." Cromer, l. 29. p. 647.

icipalities;

cialities; subdued Novogorod; and, what was still more glorious and beneficial, he rescued this country from the Tartar yoke; and refused the payment of the ignominious tribute, which for above a century had been exacted from his predecessors. He had no sooner delivered Russia from this dependence, than his alliance was courted by many European sovereigns; and during his reign Moscow saw, for the first time, ambassadors from the emperor of Germany, the pope, the grand-signor, the kings of Poland and Denmark, and from the republic of Venice.

The talents of this able monarch were not confined to military achievements: Russia was indebted to him for the improvement of her commerce, and for opening a more ready communication with the European nations. Under his auspices, the knowledge of gunpowder and the art of casting cannon were first brought into Russia by Aristotle of Bologna *: he employed the same artist †, as well as other foreigners, to recoin the Russian money, which had hitherto been disfigured by Tartar inscriptions; he engaged, at a vast expence, Italian artists to enclose

* Bachmeister's *Essai sur la Bib. de Peterf.* p. 28.

† Possevinus.

the Kremlins of Moscow and Novogorod with walls of brick, and to erect several churches and other public structures with the same materials *. For his various civil and military services he deservedly acquired the name of the *Great*. He is described as a person of gigantic stature and ferocious aspect. His manners and deportment, strongly infected with the barbarism of his age and country, were somewhat softened and polished by the example of his second wife Sophia †; a Grecian princess of consummate beauty and winning address; who to all the softer graces of her sex added a vigorous and manly spirit;

* A vast effort in those barbarous times, and which deserves to be mentioned, because at his accession to the throne almost all the buildings of Moscow were of wood.

† Sophia was daughter of Thomas Palæologus, brother of Constantine the last Grecian emperor, who lost his life when Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. Soon after that event Sophia repaired to Rome with her father, where they lived under the protection of the pope. The latter is said to have negotiated her marriage with the great-duke, and even to have bestowed her portion, in hopes of procuring, through her influence, great advantages to the Roman catholic religion in Russia. But these hopes were frustrated; for Sophia, immediately upon her marriage, in 1482, embraced the Greek religion. She encouraged her husband in shaking off the Tartar yoke; and probably assisted him in procuring the ablest architects from Italy. See Herberstein, in *Rer. Mos. Comm.* p. 7. also Pau, *Jovii De Leg. Mos.*—*Ibid.* p. 129.

and

and who, while she infused into her husband a taste for the arts of peace, animated him to those glorious enterprizes which tended to the aggrandizement of his country.

Ivan the Great died in 1505, in the 67th year of his age: on each side of his remains are deposited those of his father Vassili Vassilievitch, surnamed The Blind *; and of his son Vassili Ivanovitch, who succeeded him in the throne, and expired in 1533.

In a small chapel adjoining to these tombs, is the sepulchre of Ivan Vassilievitch II. † son and successor of Vassili Ivanovitch. This sovereign is branded by many writers with the name of *tyrant*, and represented as the most odious monster that ever disgraced human nature. In delineating, however, his general character, they are sometimes guilty of falsehood ‡, and often of exaggeration; and

* He received the appellation of the Blind, because his eyes had been put out by order of his uncle, who, having formerly deposed him, practised this cruel expedient in order to disqualify him from re-ascending the throne. He was afterwards, however, reinstated in the sovereignty by the affection of his subjects.

† Called, by the English writers, John Basilovitz.

‡ Thus some writers assert, that when he walked out, or made a progress through his dominions, if he met any one whose mien displeased him, he would order his head to be struck off, or do it himself.

Others

and seem totally to forget many great qualities which he certainly possessed. Though we should not give implicit credit to many idle reports which are related of his savageness and inhumanity; yet it would be equally as absurd, and contrary to historical evidence, to deny or attempt to apologise for many cruelties* actually committed by this monarch, who, no more than Peter the Great, reckoned clemency among the number of his virtues.

Others as absurdly relate, that he would order bears to be let loose upon a crowd of people assembled in the streets of Moscow, and diverted himself with the cries and agonies of the persons devoured by those ferocious animals.

Olearius informs us, that Ivan wantonly commanded the eyes of the architect, who built the church of the Holy Trinity at Moscow, to be put out, that he might never construct any building of superior beauty.

These incredible tales confute themselves; but the following charge we are able to contradict from our own history. Ivan is said to have ordered the hat of the English ambassador, Sir Jerome Bowes, to be nailed to his head, because he refused to take it off in the tzar's presence.

This report was occasioned by the exaggerated account of a misunderstanding between the tzar and Sir Jerome Bowes, which is related in the ambassador's dispatches. Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, v. I. p. 460, &c.

* Instances of which the reader will find in the 6th Chap. of this Book, and the 2d of Book IV.

But

But while we regard the ferocity and implacability of his temper with abhorrence; we cannot refuse the tribute of admiration to his political character. He raised the superstructure of the Russian grandeur, of which his grandfather had laid the foundation. Instead of a desultory militia, collected in haste, and always impatient to disband, he instituted a standing army; he abolished the use of the bow, hitherto the principal weapon among the Russians; he trained them to fire-arms, and accustomed them to a more regular discipline. By means of this formidable body, he extended his dominions on all sides; conquered the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan; and rendered the Russian name respectable to the distant powers of Europe. He gave to his subjects the first code of written laws; he invited foreign artists * to Moscow; he introduced printing into Russia; he promoted commerce, and regulated the duties of export

* Above three hundred artists of all professions, namely, painters, sculptors, architects, watch-makers, casters of bells, miners, armourers, stationers, masons, &c. have already arrived at Lubec in their way to Moscow, but were prevented from proceeding by the intrigues of the inhabitants of Lubec, and the natives of Livonia. See Bachmeister's *Essai sur la Bib. &c.* p. 32.

and

and import; he permitted English merchants to establish factories within his dominions; and, with a liberality not always practised by more enlightened sovereigns, granted to them the free exercise of their religion; he had even formed the design, which death alone prevented, of instituting various seminaries for the cultivation of the Latin and German languages. In a word, he may fairly be esteemed one of those sovereigns, who have greatly contributed to improve and civilise their subjects.

Ivan Vassilievitch II. died in 1584, in an agony of grief at the death of his eldest son Ivan, whose remains are placed contiguous to those of his father. Historians have recorded, that this prince received his death, from the person to whom he was indebted for his life, by an unfortunate blow upon his temple. The enemies of the tzar have not failed to impute this melancholy catastrophe to design; while his apologists have no less strenuously laboured to represent it as merely accidental. Upon weighing these discordant accounts with impartiality; it appears, that the blow was either casual, or, if designed to chastise, certainly not intended to be fatal.

Feodor, the second son and successor of Ivan Vassilievitch II. is interred in the same
7 chapel;

chapel; a prince of such weak intellects and notorious incapacity, as to be a mere phantom of sovereignty, and entirely under the direction of his brother-in-law Boris Godunof. Feodor ascended the throne in 1584, and expired in 1598: in him ended the male line of the sovereigns of the house of Ruric *, a family who had reigned over Russia for a period of more than seven centuries.

Among the tombs in this church, the most remarkable is that which contains the body of a child, supposed by the Russians to have been the third son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. who is said to have been assassinated at Vglitz, in the ninth year of his age, by order of Boris Godunof. This tomb, which is more distinguished than those of the Russian sovereigns, is of brass and highly ornamented. The child is classed among the saints of the Russian calendar; and, according to the legends of the church, his body is said to have performed miracles, and is believed by the credulous to remain uncorrupted. The top of the sepulchre is frequently uncovered, and, during divine service on the festival of St. Alexander Nevski, I observed several Russians

* Unless Demetrius was the real son of Ivan Vassilievitch II.

kissing the inside with great marks of devotion. The history of the assassination at Vglitz, and the adventures of the real or pretended Demetrius, who filled the throne for a short time, require a separate narrative.

The sovereigns of the house of Romanof are interred in the body of the church: their tombs are placed on each side between the massy pillars, which support the roof.

The first of this illustrious line is Michael Feodorovitch; whose election in 1613 put a final period to a long scene of civil bloodshed, and restored tranquillity to his distracted country. He owed his elevation to his high rank and princely descent; but more particularly to the virtues, abilities, and popularity of his father Philaretus. A body of Russian nobles having tendered the crown to Ladislaus prince of Poland; that prince had actually assumed the title of tzar, and established a garrison at Moscow: soon afterwards a powerful party, averse to the government of a foreigner, expelled the Poles from the capital; and unanimously advanced Michael to the throne, though at that time scarcely seventeen years of age. It is singular, that he was raised to this high station, not only without his knowledge, but even in repugnance

to his own inclination. When the deputies from Moscow arrived at Costroma, where he at that time resided with his mother, and acquainted him with his election; Michael, recollecting the dreadful catastrophes which had befallen all the tzars since the demise of Feoder Ivanovitch, and reflecting on the present distracted state of Russia, burst into tears; and declined a crown, which seemed to entail destruction upon those who had ventured to wear it *. Overcome, however, by the importunities of the deputies, and partly dazzled with the splendour of royalty, Michael at length yielded to the wishes of his country; and repairing without delay to Moscow, was crowned with the usual solemnities. Though he ascended the throne with reluctance, he filled it with dignity: and found a protection from those disasters which overwhelmed his immediate predecessors, in his own discretion, in the wise counsels of his father, and in the affection of his subjects. Michael died in 1645, after a prosperous reign of 23 years.

Alexèy Michaelovitch his son, whose ashes lie contiguous to his remains, is chiefly known by foreigners as the father of Peter the Great; but he deserves likewise our attention for his

* See Busching's Account of the Election of Michael. Hist. M. II. p. 403.

own public virtues, and for a variety of salutary institutions. He revised, amended, and new-modelled the code of laws compiled by Ivan Vassilievitch II.; he introduced a more regular discipline into the army; and invited * foreign officers into his service; he procured from Amsterdam several ship-builders, whom he employed in constructing vessels for the navigation of the Caspian Sea: in a word, he traced the great outlines of many of those regulations, which were afterwards improved and enlarged by the vast genius of his son Peter the Great. Alexèy deceased in 1676, in the 32d year of his reign, and the 49th of his age.

Opposite to the sepulchre of Alexèy are those of his sons Feodor and Ivan: Feodor, who succeeded his father in the throne has been described by Voltaire and others as a prince who possessed a vigorous mind in a weak frame: and whose administration was dignified with many useful and glorious regulations. The truth is, that incapacity, no less than ill-health, disqualified him from conducting the affairs of government; that

* Mayerberg says, among the foreign officers in the service of Alexèy Michaelovitch, were two generals, two field marshals, more than an hundred colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns in proportion.

he actually resigned himself to the direction of his sister Sophia; and that all the beneficial acts of his administration must be ascribed to her influence, and to the abilities of his prime minister the great Galitzin. Feodor, after a short reign of six years, sunk in 1682 under the disorders which had long preyed upon his frame.

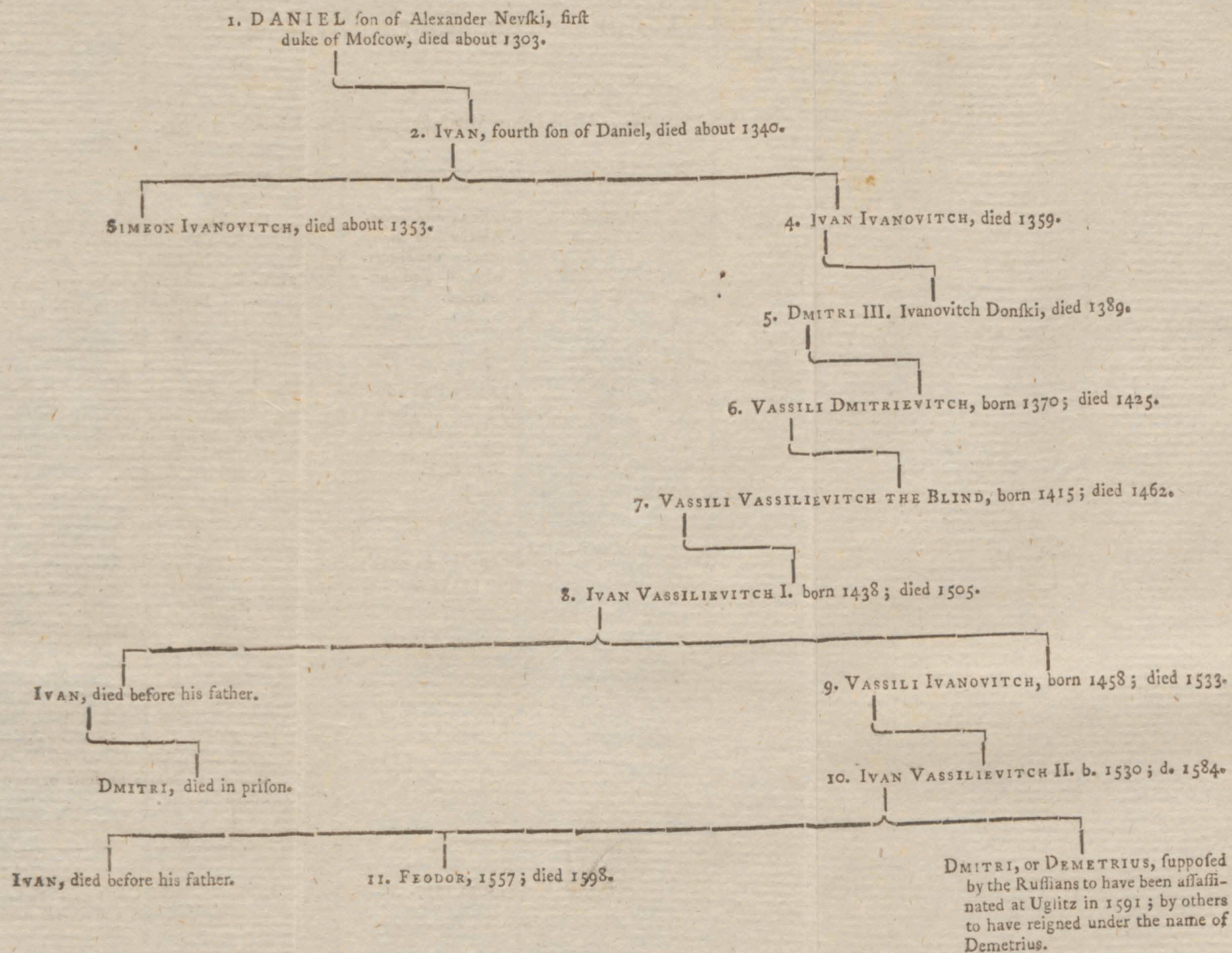
Ivan, second brother of Feodor, and rightful heir of the throne, was so debilitated by epileptic fits, both in body and mind*, that he was at first excluded from the succession as incapable of discharging the functions of government; but being afterwards recognized as joint-sovereign with his half-brother Peter the Great, he was considered merely as a puppet, held up to satisfy the multitude, and to secure to his adherents a share in

* Schleiffing, who was at Moscow during the administration of Sophia, thus describes the person of Ivan. "Ivan Alexèy, the eldest czar, is ill-formed by nature, infomuch that he can neither rightly see, read, or speak. He always wears a piece of green silk before his eyes, in order to prevent the upper part of his face from being seen on account of its deformity. But he is very pious and devout; and as, on account of his weak constitution, he cannot hunt, or take any violent exercise, he is the more constant in his attendance at church, and never misses a procession. He is short in his person, very thin, and is now 30 years of age."

the administration of affairs. He was allowed to continue this state-pageant during the remainder of his life; and his death, which happened in 1698, was scarcely perceived by his subjects, and not known to the rest of Europe, except by the omission of his name in the public acts.

The sovereigns subsequent to Ivan are interred at Petersburg, excepting Peter II. whose ashes repose in this cathedral. This monarch, the son of the unfortunate Tzarovitch Alexèy, was born in 1715, succeeded in 1727 Catharine I. and died in 1730 of the small-pox in this city, on the very day which had been appointed for his marriage with the princess Dolgorucki. His death was occasioned by the ignorance of the physicians, who treated his disorder as a malignant fever. Peter II. acquired great popularity by fixing, during the latter part of his short reign, his imperial residence at Moscow. He was regretted as the grandson of Peter the Great, and as the person in whom the male line of the house of Romanof became extinct.

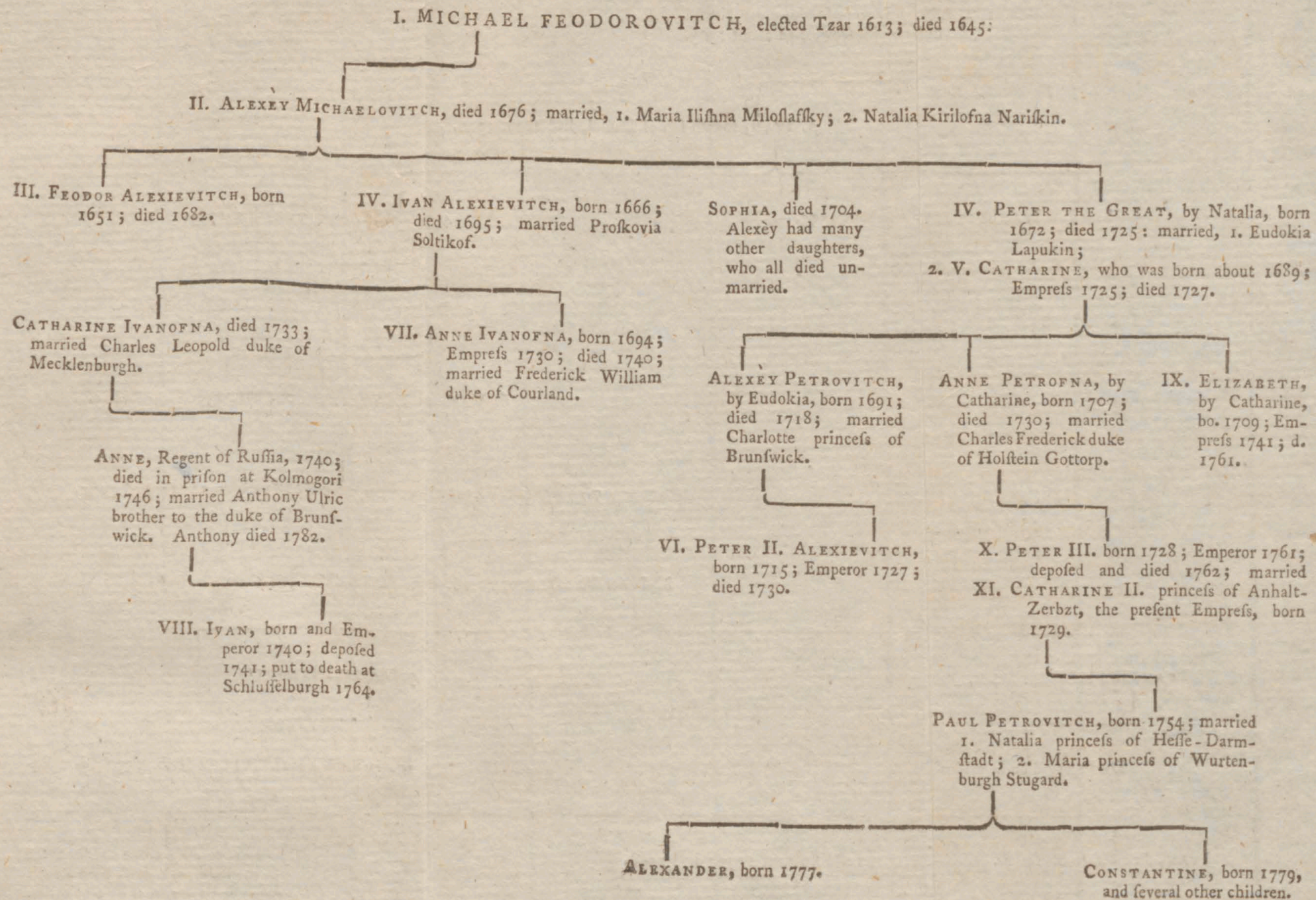
SOVEREIGNS of Moscow of the House of Ruric.



TZARS of different Families.

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| <p>12. BORIS GODUNOF, elected Tzar 1598; died in 1605. His son Feodor, proclaimed Tzar in April by his father's party, and put to death in June, can scarcely be classed among the Russian sovereigns.</p> | <p>13. DMITRI, or DEMETRIUS, the False Demetrius of the Russians; by others called the son of Ivan Vassilievitch II. ascended the throne in June, 1605; assassinated May, 1606.</p> | <p>14. VASSILI IVANOVITCH SHUISKI, elected Tzar upon the assassination of Demetrius in 1606; deposed in 1610; died in captivity at Warsaw.</p> |
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SOVEREIGNS of RUSSIA of the House of ROMANOF.



A P P E N D I X.

N^o. I.

The Act for the Establishment of the Permanent Council, by the Diet of 1775, is thus worded,

SINCE the former existence of the council *ad latus nostrum* in the republic is proved from the antient constitutions which mention it, and nominally from the sixth article in the confirmation of king Stephen, as well as from the constitutions * of 1576, 1590, 1607, 1641, 1669, 1677, and of 1678: We therefore establish a national council, *ad latus nostrum*, composed of the three orders, namely, of us the king, the senate, and of the equestrian order, to act in the manner prescribed as follows.

A R T I C L E I.

ARRANGEMENT of the PERMANENT COUNCIL.

I. This council shall bear the title of Supreme Permanent Council. It shall be composed of the three estates of the republic, namely, of the king, the senate, and the equestrian order, which shall be for ever inseparable, excepting during an interregnum, or in the king's absence, for which a provision is hereafter made.

* The laws of Poland are called constitutions, and are denominated constitutions of 1576, 1590, &c. as passed in the diets which assembled in those years.

The first estate, the king, as chief of the nation, is never changed; but the other two estates shall be elected, every two years, at the ordinary diet, by the majority of secret votes, in the following manner.

1. All senators and ministers are candidates of course, but the members of the equestrian order shall address themselves to the marshal of the last diet; and, in case of his death or absence, to the first nuntio of the province from which the marshal was taken, three days before the diet, either in person, or by memorials signed by themselves, and sealed with their own coats of arms.

2. The marshal of the diet being elected, and all the ceremonies in the chamber of the nuntios being properly performed, after the junction of the two houses according to the constitution of 1768, the lists of the candidates shall be read; that of the senators and ministers by one of the principal secretaries; and that of the candidates of the equestrian order by the secretary of the diet. No person shall be excluded from being a candidate, who can prove that he possesses the necessary conditions and qualifications, such as are hereafter described. And if any person so qualified is omitted, the great secretaries shall be answerable to the same diet for the omission of senators and ministers, and the marshal of the diet for that of the members of the equestrian order; and if they are convicted of having designedly been guilty of the omission, they shall be deprived of their charges.

3. A printed list of the candidates shall, the same day, be given to each member of the diet to be taken into consideration.

4. The ensuing day each member of the diet shall secretly mark the names of as many persons in the printed list as are necessary to fill the permanent council. This ceremony shall be performed in a corner of the senate-house,

house. The senators invited by the great marshals, or, in their absence, by those who perform the office of marshals, and the nuntios summoned by the marshal of the diet, shall receive from the secretaries the printed list of the candidates, stamped with the arms of the republic, similar to that which was distributed the preceding day. With these lists they shall repair in order, one after the other, to a small table surrounded with curtains, upon which table they shall secretly draw a line under the names of the persons whom they favour; and every one shall put his list into a vase standing upon a table in the corner of the hall, which vase shall be previously opened in the senate-house by the marshal who is first in rank, in order to shew that it is empty. The vase shall be provided with three different locks, the keys whereof shall be given, one to his majesty, a second to the great marshal, or to him who stands in his place; and a third to the marshal of the diet. At the same time nine deputies shall be chosen, three from the senate by the king, and six by the marshal of the diet from the equestrian order. As soon as all the lists have been delivered, these deputies, being sworn, shall bring the vase into the middle of the senate-house, and having, in the face of the whole assembly, opened it with the three keys, shall compare the number of lists with the members of the diet who are present, count the suffrages, and the first in rank among the deputies shall openly proclaim the names of those who have the majority.

5. Each elector must underline in the printed list so many, and such persons as are required; that is, among the persons elected shall be the third of the members in the late permanent council, to the number of twelve, namely, six from the senate and ministry, and as many from the equestrian order, equally chosen from each province. All the lists, in which this rule is not observed, and in which there are more or less persons nominated than the necessary number,

number, shall be considered as null, and be rejected by the deputies.

6. Those who have the plurality of suffrages shall be admitted into the council; and it is only in case of an equal number of votes for any candidate or candidates, that the king shall have the casting voice.

The necessary qualifications, which entitle a member of the equestrian order to become a candidate for a seat in the council, are to have belonged to any of the four jurisdictions of the republic (of the marshal, of war, of the *assessorium* *, and of the treasury), to have been deputy in any tribunal, nuntio of the diet, or minister to a foreign court. Those who shall be elected during the diet, before they enter upon their office shall take the following oath.

" I do swear, in the name of the Almighty, that I will
 " be faithful to you Stanislaus Augustus, my gracious
 " master, and to the republic of Poland; that, in the exer-
 " cise of my office as counsellor of the permanent council,
 " I will execute with zeal all which the laws relative to the
 " permanent council ordain; that I will not suffer myself
 " to be surprised either by presents or menaces; that in
 " giving my advice I will not be biased by any person, but
 " will act in obedience to the laws, and in conformity to
 " justice will consult the good of my country; that if I see
 " or know any thing which may be either serviceable or
 " detrimental to my country, I will faithfully acquaint his
 " majesty, my most gracious master, and his permanent
 " council, and will give my suffrage in the manner I think
 " most likely to prevent the evil. I will not reveal the se-
 " crets which may be entrusted to me by his majesty and
 " his council. And so help me God."

* Court of Justice, having cognizance within a certain distance of the sovereign's place of residence. See p. 14. note †.

The council shall be composed of the following persons :

1. The king as chief and president.
2. Three bishops, among whom the primate of his own right shall preside during two years, but shall have no seat the two following years.
3. Nine lay-senators; two of whom may be elected either from the ministers or senators.
4. Four from the ministry of the republic, namely, one from each department; of these eighteen members of the senate, six must be taken from each of the three * provinces.
5. The marshal of the equestrian order, and, in case of his death or absence, the first counsellor of the equestrian order, according to the turn of the provinces.
6. Eighteen counsellors of the equestrian order, including the marshal.
7. The secretary of the permanent council shall be elected from the Referendaries †, and national notaries, &c.

OF THE PENSIONS.

The primate, bishops, and ministers, enjoying very considerable revenues derived from their charges, shall have no pensions. Lay-senators of the crown, and of Lithuania, shall annually receive each 14,000 florins ‡, = £. 388. 18s. The marshal of the equestrian order, as member of the permanent council, 30,000 florins, = £. 833. 6s. 8d.;

* Great Poland, Little Poland, and Lithuania.

† "Referendaries are a kind of masters of Requests, whose office is to receive petitions made to the king, and to give his majesty's answer: they have a place in any of the king's courts of justice." Connor's Poland, v. II. p. 77.

‡ 36 Polish florins = a pound sterling.

and,

and, during his residence at Warsaw, shall be allowed a guard of fifteen men, with an officer, from the army of the crown. Each counsellor shall have 14,000 florins per annum, = £. 388. 18s. The secretary of the council shall receive the same sum.

EXPLANATION of the duties and prerogatives of the persons who compose the Permanent Council.

His majesty the king our most gracious master, as chief of the nation, and the first estate, representing the majesty of the republic, shall, according to usual practice, convoke by circular letters, and at the time prescribed by the laws, the ordinary diets; he must always consult the permanent council upon the matters to be laid before those assemblies, in the same manner as he before took the advice of the senate, which from henceforth shall no more be convened. His majesty shall in like manner summon the extraordinary diets, either of his own accord, or at the instance of the permanent council, which the king cannot refuse if the majority demand it. All the laws and constitutions of the diet, decrees, privileges, and public acts, shall be issued in the name of the king, as it has been hitherto practised. He shall sign all the dispatches passed by order of the council, not having it in his power to put a negative upon them, if they are carried by a majority. He shall give public audience to ambassadors and foreign ministers, to envoys or residents, shall treat with them, but cannot conclude without communicating the whole to the council, and following the advice of the majority.

The king, on his part, cedes the following royal prerogatives:

1. For

1. For the election of bishops, palatines, castellans, and ministers, the council shall nominate by ballot three candidates, one of whom the king shall appoint to the vacant office*.

2. The power of appointing to all other ecclesiastical and civil offices shall continue, without any diminution, vested in the king, excepting the commissioners of war, of the treasury, those in the department of the marshal, and in the *assessorium regni*: all these commissioners were before accustomed to be named by him in the intervals between the diets; but his majesty now consents, that from henceforth the council shall elect three candidates, to be presented in the same manner as in the last-mentioned article relative to the nomination of the senators and ministers.

3. With respect to military ranks, his majesty shall appoint the captains in the Polish companies, and the officers of the four companies, which are upon the Polish footing and bear his name. Excepting these, all other military promotions shall be conferred according to seniority. Nevertheless, his majesty may propose candidates for military promotion, chosen among the young officers in the national service, to be secretly ballotted for with that person who has the right of seniority; provided, at the same time, the great general delivers to his majesty his recommendation in writing, with his reasons for the said recommendation.

4. His majesty renounces the right to dispose of the royal demesnes and starosties, with this clause, that the proprietors of both sexes be continued during their lives in possession of the said estates, which, from this present time, shall never be granted to any person whatsoever, under the appearance of recompence or any other pretext; but they shall be employed for the public good, to the great advantage of the country, and with the consent of the king.

* The king had before the sole disposal of these offices. See p. 15.

5. Four regiments of guards shall be restored to the command of the great general, as in the time of Augustus III. that is, while they preserve the name and rank of guards, they do not bind themselves by any new oath; and with this difference, that whereas formerly the great generals possessed alone the military power in their hands, at present they share that power with the committee; which committee, as well as the great generals, depend, in virtue of the present law, upon the permanent council. In return, the king shall receive an annual sum sufficient to keep in pay two thousand troops, who shall depend solely upon his majesty; but this sum shall not be included in the additional revenues granted to his majesty, in compensation for those lost by the dismemberment of the provinces.

6. Reciprocally, the republic stipulates on its part, once for all, that all the other royal prerogatives (those excepted which the king has graciously pleased to renounce) shall remain in full force, and be for ever inviolate.

THE PRIMATE.

The primate, during his office*, must attend the permanent council at least six months in the year. The ancient laws, which secure the prerogatives of the primate during the interregnum, remaining in force, he shall † preside in the council, even should it not be his turn for sitting in the council. During the interregnum, the permanent council, keeping its power and authority, shall maintain, in the usual forms, the tribunals, and all the jurisdictions of the republic, according to the constitution of 1768, in all things not contradicted by this new arrangement. The primate, during the two years of his function, signs his

* That is, during the two years in which he sits in the council.

† Namely, as viceroy during the interregnum.

name after the king to all the acts of the permanent council; and, in case of the king's absence, or during an interregnum, he has two * votes, in order to decide in case of equality of suffrages. In the primate's absence, the first senator in rank, who is member of the council, supplies his place.

THE MARSHAL OF THE EQUESTRIAN ORDER.

The equestrian order shall have its marshal in the permanent council, who is the first in rank among the members of that order. He shall be elected every two years at the ordinary diet by secret suffrages, always from each of the three provinces by rotation, according to the form prescribed for the election of the counsellors. No senator or minister is capable of being elected marshal unless he beforehand resigns his charge.

He shall take the following oath before the same diet, in the same manner as the other counsellors.

" I swear before Almighty God, that I will be faithful
 " to you Stanislaus Augustus my gracious master, and to
 " the republic of Poland; that in the exercise of my office of marshal of the permanent council, I will execute
 " with zeal all which is ordained by the laws established
 " by the council; that in giving my advice, and voting, I
 " will take for the rule of my conduct the written laws,
 " and the good of my country, from which I will never
 " swerve, neither induced by intreaties, promises, friendship or hatred, or any other species of corruption or personal attachment whatsoever; that I will never divulge
 " the secret deliberations of the council; that I will cast

* That is, I suppose, one vote as usual, and the casting vote in case of equality.

“ up the votes, and faithfully declare the majority of suffrages. So help me God.”

The marshal of the equestrian order in the permanent council cannot be chosen marshal or nuntio of the next diet, nor be re-elected marshal of the permanent council, excepting after an interval of four years.

His office. He, as well as each of the counsellors, may remonstrate against the ill-execution of the laws, and lay before the council those matters of which it has the cognizance. It is the duty of the whole council to watch over the security and maintenance of the established government, and the present constitution; and the marshal, as well as each member, ought to have at heart the preservation of the prerogatives of the three estates; but more particularly the chancellor, who is a member of the council, and the marshal shall take care that the papers shall be kept in order, and the inspector of the acts and archives of the permanent council shall depend upon the permanent council *in pleno*. The marshal, as well as each counsellor, may present candidates for subaltern places in the permanent council, who shall be accepted, if the council is unanimous, and, in case of any opposition, shall be elected by the majority of suffrages. The marshal and chancellor shall take care that the said subalterns perform their duties, recommending to the permanent council to reward or punish them according to their deserts. The marshal distributes the votes to the members of the equestrian order, draws the balls or the billets from the vase, in presence of two deputies from the senate and two from the equestrian order, chosen by the plurality of voices, counts the number of suffrages, and declares the majority. The seal of the permanent council, together with the arms of the two nations, shall remain in the possession of the first among the chancellors who are members of the council.

The

The marshal shall sign next to the king and primate, or, in the latter's absence, next to the senior senator, all the acts and resolutions of the permanent council, and shall the same day dispatch each act to its respective department. At the ordinary diet he shall take his seat at the left hand of the marshal of the diet, and after his justification he shall depart from the assembly, together with all the members of the equestrian order in the late council. If he exceeds his power, the permanent council may cite him, as well as each counsellor, before the tribunal of the diet, according to the form prescribed by law.

THE SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL.

He can only give his opinion, but has no vote in the council. He shall deliver gratis to the petitioners the resolutions and answers of the permanent council, and shall countersign all the dispatches. He shall receive from the secretaries of the departments (who shall depend upon him as far as relates to the reports which are to be delivered) the reports of all that passes in the sittings of the different departments, and what is inserted in the registers; he shall acquaint the permanent council with the contents, and shall form a register of all the operations according to the decision of the diet. He shall be obliged to report to the permanent council every thing that comes to his knowledge, which may be either advantageous or detrimental to the republic. During his absence, the permanent council shall elect, by a majority of suffrages, another person, who shall perform the duties of his office until he returns. The archivist shall be elected in the permanent council by the majority of suffrages, in the same manner as the above-mentioned subalterns, and he shall be informed of all by the secretary. The extracts, as well from the archives of the

permanent council, as from the departments which appertain to the council, shall be delivered gratis.

The secretary shall take an oath, similar to the foregoing one, with the addition of the following clause: "I swear that I will not entrust, or give to any person, the papers which are configned to me, without the permission of the council."

The instigators * of the two nations † (their antient duties remaining in force) shall depend upon the permanent council, and shall not make their appearance in it without being summoned. They shall take the usual oath, with the addition of the following clause: "We swear that we will not abandon any person for prayers, threats, promises, or personal consideration, nor indict but at the instance of the permanent council."

The nomination of the secretaries for the departments, the keeper of the archives, and scribes (all of whom must be natives and nobles) as well as the appointment of their duties, shall depend upon the permanent council.

THE INTERPRETERS.

There shall be two for the Eastern languages, and one for the Russian tongue: they shall depend upon the permanent council, and particularly upon the department for foreign affairs.

The members of the permanent council shall not be exempted from appearing in the courts of justice, &c.

If, in criminal affairs, a counsellor incurs any punishment, he shall submit to it according to the laws and the nature of the crime, without deriving any benefit from his office, &c.

* Officers of the crown who prosecute in cases of high treason.

† Poland and Lithuania.

ARTICLE II.

ARRANGEMENT, DIVISION, AND MODE OF PROCEDURE in the PERMANENT COUNCIL.

The Permanent Council is divided into five departments.

1. For foreign affairs.
2. Police.
3. War.
4. Justice.
5. Treasury.

In the department for foreign affairs there shall be only four members, and eight in each of the other departments, amounting in all to thirty-six persons. The election of these members shall be made by the permanent council assembled in a body, either unanimously, or by a majority of open suffrages. The presence of three persons in each department shall be deemed sufficient to proceed upon business. The ministers * (who are of the council) shall preside in the departments belonging to their respective charges, and if any accusation shall be brought against them, they shall retire from the permanent council, not having a vote in such cases.

The members of each department shall receive the memorials and reports which concern their respective departments: having examined and made extracts, they shall add their own opinion upon each matter, and shall then lay the whole before the permanent council for its final decision.

In the department, when there shall happen to be no minister, the senior senator shall preside. Each president has,

* Namely, one of the great treasurers in the department of the treasury; one of the great generals in that of war, &c.

beside his common vote, a casting voice, in case of an equality of suffrages. In all the departments, as well as in the council *in pleno*, the lowest member in rank shall give the first vote.

The council shall assemble *in pleno*, as often as necessity requires, in presence of the king, when he is pleased to be present; and in his majesty's absence, the primate during his turn shall preside; and in his absence, the first senator.

The king shall first propose whatever he thinks proper, and the question shall be decided, if not unanimously, by a plurality of voices. In all cases, when the king is not present, the primate, or, in his absence, the first in rank, shall have the power of proposing. Afterwards, the marshal of the equestrian order, and then each counsellor, shall successively have the liberty of proposing. Then the secretary of the council shall read the registers of the five departments, that the affairs which they treat may be finally decided by the permanent council *in pleno*, or returned to the department from which it was delivered for more exact information. When the king is not present in the council, the first senator and the marshal of the equestrian order shall, in the name of the council, make reports of the affairs in agitation to the king. The king, having received them, shall, if he pleases, give his two votes in writing, which shall be as valid as if he had been present. If the king gives no vote before the next meeting, the question shall be decided by the majority; and, in case of an equality, the first in rank who presides in the council shall have the casting voice.

If the king is absent from Warsaw with the permission of the council, the council must repair to the place where he resides; but if his majesty quits Warsaw of his own accord, the election of the candidates, and the distribution of the charges, shall be suspended two months; at the expiration of which term, one of the members of the department

ment for foreign affairs shall attend his majesty, to the end that a correspondence be preserved between the king and the council.

The memorials, in all public matters cognizable by the council, may be presented to any member of the council, or even to the secretary; but in all private affairs equally cognizable by the council, the memorials must be presented by those persons whom they concern. The member who presents a memorial, having first signed it, shall send it to the secretary of the council, and the latter, having made extracts from it, shall read them to the council at the next meeting, bringing with him, however, the original to be examined in case of necessity. But if the counsellor, who sends a memorial to the secretary, perceives it to be of such great importance as to deserve the inspection of the council, he shall add after his name the following words, "This memorial admits no delay." But should a memorial be of such a nature as to require secrecy, and to be laid before the council in the first resort, then the counsellor, to whom it has been given, shall himself, without sending it to the secretary, lay it before the council. In all questions, if the members of the council are not unanimous, the first in order, whoever he be, marshal, minister, or member of the council, shall distribute, in the manner above-mentioned, the votes to the senators, and the marshal of the equestrian order to the persons of that order, and the majority shall be collected with the greatest exactness. The majority may be ascertained by two modes of decision; either by secret, or by open votes, when the person who assents, saying, "*I permit*," the suffrages shall be inscribed in the register by each voter. The *Turnus* can never be employed *in pleno*, excepting the members of the council are fifteen in number; and before the turnus is made use of, the person who lays any proposition before the council ought to ask the members if they consent; the answer, that they consent, or silence,

silence, announces unanimity; but if any member should oppose, and demand the turnus, then they shall proceed to open voting.

Each proposition may be the subject of deliberation during three days; but if any one member objects to that delay, he may propose to determine by ballot, whether the affair shall be taken into consideration, or be immediately decided.

The turnus, once begun, shall be continued without interruption until the subject in agitation shall be finally decided, &c. In all questions, the decision by ballot may be insisted on by any one member, but it must be used in the following points.

1. In election of vacant offices reserved to the council.
2. In extraordinary expences issued by the treasury of the republic, not warranted by law.
3. In matters of high treason, state crimes, disturbance of the public tranquillity, and conventicles contrary to law.

The votes by ballot shall be collected with the greatest precaution and fidelity, and with every mark of necessary solemnity. For this purpose a table shall stand in the middle of the apartment, surrounded with curtains about the height of a man, which may be drawn and undrawn to admit the counsellors; upon this table shall be placed a vase, having two openings with inscriptions affirmative and negative, into which the balls shall be put; these openings shall be only big enough to admit the balls, and not to receive the whole hand. The vase shall be also closed with a lock, the key whereof shall be placed upon the council table until all the members have given their suffrages, and the balls are to be counted. The vase being opened, the marshal minister, and the marshal of the equestrian order, shall first hold it up and invert it to shew that it is empty; after which, it shall be sealed by the two marshals, and covered

vered with the curtains. Next, the secretary shall distribute ivory balls to all who have a vote in the council; and every member, according to his rank, shall approach the table, and, first holding up his hand to shew that he has but one ball, shall put it into one of the openings, *permitting, or not permitting*, as he shall think proper, and according to his conscience; and in this manner he cannot see how the others give their votes, nor be seen himself. If there are many candidates, the secretary shall distribute to each member billets, all written in the same hand, containing the names and surnames of the candidates; each member shall then put into the vase the billet containing the names and surnames of the candidates whom he favours, and shall burn the other billets, a candle being ready for that purpose. In case of equality of suffrages, the king has the casting vote; and, to the end that each member may solicit the vacant charges in the gift of the permanent council, they may all propose themselves, as well as recommend others, giving in their petition to that purpose in writing. The secret balloting being finished, the marshal of the equestrian order, and the marshal minister, shall break each his seal, and open the vase; and then, in conjunction with the two deputies from the senate and two from the equestrian order, shall declare the number of balls or billets. After which, the marshal of the equestrian order shall read aloud the names of the candidates, and the number of votes in favour of each candidate, and shall declare for whom is the majority, which the secretary shall immediately register.

The king has the privilege of convening an assembly of the permanent council; and, in his absence, the first in rank; neither of whom can refuse to summon a meeting upon the request of any one member, representing the necessity of discussing an affair of great importance. Each member of the council has the liberty of delivering his opinion in a decent manner; but whenever any affair, relative to any member, is in agitation, that member shall have no vote.

Two persons of the same family, and even of the same surname, cannot be elected into the council, at the same time, as members of the same estate, namely, two senators, or two persons of the equestrian order; but only one person for each estate.

All the decrees of the permanent council shall be issued in the name of the king, without any payment for the affixing of the seal, in the following manner: "We the king, with the advice of the permanent council."

In order to prevent too frequent interruptions, no member of the council shall be absent more than six months in the year, either at one or at different intervals, but with the consent of the permanent council granted by the majority. The members who exceed their leave of absence shall lose a proportionate part of their salary; the same shall be understood of those who, being at Warsaw, do not attend the sittings of the council; excepting, in both cases, persons employed in other public offices, or those who produce proof of sickness. The deduction of the salaries from the absent members shall, at the end of the year, be divided among those who have assiduously performed their duty.

The members of the permanent council cannot be sent beyond the frontiers as ministers to foreign courts: a person may decline being elected a member; but, when once admitted, he cannot resign upon any pretext.

At each ordinary diet, when the council expires, a third of the members of the last permanent council, namely six from the senators, and the same number from the equestrian order, shall be continued, by ballot, members for the following years; and this is done to the end that the council may always contain persons experienced in business.

At the next ordinary diet, a particular place in the senate-house shall be assigned to the council, to answer any complaints which may be brought against it, and to receive
a public

a public testimony to be inserted in the constitutions of the diet; either that the diet received no complaints against the permanent council; or that, having received them, they were proved upon examination to be ill-founded; or that, having acknowledged their validity, justice was accordingly inflicted. The senators and ministers in the council shall have their usual places in the senate. In the ordinary diets, the counsellors of the equestrian order shall sit next to the ministers. None of the counsellors, either senators, ministers, or those of the equestrian order, shall be present at the dietines, or at the opening of the tribunals. No counsellors shall accept any other public charges than those which appertain to their office. No member of the council shall oppose the signature of privileges, resolutions, or acts decided by the majority; and if either the king, the senior senator, or the marshal, should refuse to sign, in that case, each member shall subscribe for himself, and the names of the majority shall render the act valid. In case of death, the vacancy shall be filled up within the space of ten weeks by ballot, in the manner above-mentioned. If the deceased be a bishop or lay-senator, his successor shall be taken from the bishops or lay-senators; if a minister, from the boards of the said minister's office; if a person of the equestrian order, either from the candidates presented at the last diet, or from those proposed upon this occasion.

ARTICLE III.

POWER, AUTHORITY, AND DUTIES OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL.

1. Without enjoying the least authority, legislative or judicial, the council orders the execution of the laws; and being the center of public affairs, as well foreign as domestic,

metic, is bound to determine according to the laws of its present establishment.

2. It shall issue assignments for the payment of sums reserved to the public treasury, and specified in the general table of expences unprovided for in extraordinary circumstances; and the members of the council cannot, during the holding of their office, partake of the said assignments.

3. It shall receive all projects beneficial to the state, decide upon the admission of those which are consonant to law, and must lay those which appear advantageous, but which have not the sanction of law, before the first diet, for the determination of the states.

4. It shall form plans for the reformation of the laws, and shall present them before the next diet: it shall frame a new code of laws, public, civil, and criminal, to be approved by the diet.

5. It shall send ambassadors and ministers to foreign courts from the persons nominated by the king. The permanent council shall give them the necessary instructions, excepting in all cases reserved for the diet.

6. The permanent council shall appoint, by ballot, in the manner above-mentioned, three candidates for the vacant charges, excepting those which are in the king's gift, or are chosen by the nobility in the Palatinates.

7. It shall take the most effectual methods to preserve the alliances and treaties of the republic.

ARTICLE IV.

LIMITS OF THE PERMANENT COUNCIL'S AUTHORITY.

The council has no power in all matters reserved to the states assembled in diet, and can enact nothing contrary to any liberties and prerogatives justly conferred. It must
not

not usurp to itself the legislative or judicial authority, nor in any degree take into consideration those affairs whose decision is reserved to the diet alone. If the council should exceed its power, the members shall be liable to be cited and tried at the diet for high treason, and, if guilty, to be punished according to the antient laws established upon this article. The permanent council shall remain in full authority for two years without interruption, even should one or more extraordinary diets interfere; and at the ordinary diet until a new council shall be elected in its place, according to the prescribed form: then the antient council shall lay before the diet the situation of affairs, and give an account of its whole administration. The permanent council can only act according to the laws in being, or carry the said laws into execution. In all cases, not expressly mentioned by the laws, the permanent council cannot decide; but in all such circumstances it may prepare any proposals for new laws, and publish them in the circular letters for the convocation of the diet.

DEPARTMENT I. Of foreign affairs in the Permanent Council.

The department of foreign affairs shall be composed of four members, amongst whom shall be one from the duchy of Lithuania, one of the chancellors, and two counsellors of the equestrian order. To these shall be added one of the national secretaries, who shall have no vote: he shall inspect and expedite all foreign affairs, and shall take the usual oath, &c.

This department shall assemble as occasion may require. When the king is not present, a chancellor shall preside; and, in the latter's absence, the first senator. The national secretary shall make a report of all the letters directed to

him,

him, and, if required, shall lay them before the members of the said department: he shall not send any answers without their approbation. He shall read at the meetings the letters and memorials to the department, which shall deliberate upon the answers: he shall write down the resolutions, and shall expedite the dispatches accordingly. In all cases of public moment, such as letters from the king to foreign courts, state affairs which require any explanation, memorials and declarations, the department shall draw them up, and lay them before the council *in pleno*, for its determination. Whenever any information is to be given to the Polish ministers at foreign courts in the ordinary course of affairs, the president of this department, having first heard the observations of each member, shall form the result. All instructions for foreign ministers shall be first drawn up in this department, and then presented to the permanent council for its decision. If any member of this department dies, the permanent council shall, without delay, elect one of its counsellors in his place. The secretary of this department shall be nominated by the king, from the national secretaries, or notaries. He shall maintain the correspondence with the foreign ministers of the republic, and to him shall be addressed all letters and memorials. In the same manner as the secretary, the subalterns in this department shall be chosen by the king.

DEPARTMENT.

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DEPARTMENT II. Committee of the marshals of Poland and Lithuania.

1. The great marshals shall act according to the constitution of 1768, restraining, however, the association of the assessors * in the following cases.—In criminal affairs.—In all taxes † upon provisions and merchandize only in the place of the king's residence, excepting corn, and the productions belonging to the nobility.—In all cases of debt or borrowings, only *ex vi inscripti fori*, when one of the parties appeals from the first instance, and the sum exceeds 500 florins = £. 13. 17s. 9d.—All appeals from the first instance, relative to the non-payment of taxes, shall be brought before the tribunal of the marshal with his assessors, in the presence of the judge or the notary, neither of whom shall have a vote. In this and similar cases of appeal, the opinion shall be given openly, and then finally decided by ballot.

2. The committee of the marshals shall be composed of the great and little marshals (or of their colleagues the marshals of the crown), of two senators, and four persons of the equestrian order. These six assessors shall be chosen at the ordinary diet, according to the form above pre-

* Before 1768, the great marshals were sole judges in all criminal causes cognizable by their tribunals: but in the diet of 1768 the following clause enacts, that "six assessors shall be added to the jurisdiction of the great marshal: they shall be elected in each ordinary diet: they shall judge all causes in conjunction with the great marshal: and shall decide by the majority."

† The great marshal used before, of his own authority, to impose prices on merchants wares, who generally made him great presents and bribes to augment their profit. Connor's History of Poland, v. II. p. 69.

scribed for the election of the members of the permanent council.

3. The marshals shall be bound to six months residence near his majesty, and each of the assessors to four months, to the end that there may always be the complete number of five persons, including the marshals, requisite to form a sitting.

4. No member of this committee can be elected a nuntio for the next diet; but the nuntios may be appointed members of this committee by ballot, and half of the antient assessors, both senators and nobles of the equestrian order, may be continued in their office for the two following years.

5. Solely in the cases of *denegati judicii et corruptionis judicis, perjurii et oppressionis civis liberi*, complaints against the decisions of this committee can be brought before the permanent council; and causes of this nature shall be tried by the permanent council, in the manner prescribed by the law concerning the *denegatum judicium, et corruptionem judicis et perjurium*.

6. Each month the great marshal shall lay before the permanent council the report of his decisions, made in conjunction with the assessors.

7. In case the marshal should disobey the laws in any of these articles, the permanent council may remonstrate; and if he persists in infringing them, he shall be liable to be cited before the diet as guilty of high treason.

8. In all other points, not contrary to these articles, the antient prerogatives of the marshals shall continue in force.

DEPARTMENT of the Police in the Permanent Council.

1. When the great marshal shall be a member of the permanent council, he shall preside in the department of the police; and in his absence the first senior in rank, who is member of the said department.

2. If any complaints shall be urged against the great or little marshals, for non-performance of the duties specified in the articles of the "committee of marshals and their dependence on the permanent council," the plaintiffs, if members of the council, shall not be present at the resolutions passed under such circumstances.

3. If this department shall have occasion for the register of the committee of marshals, it shall be communicated.

DEPARTMENT III. The Great Generals of the Two Nations.

1. Beside the troops, commanded by the marshals of the two nations, and by the treasurers, stationed at Warsaw, there may be quartered in that capital 3,000 soldiers, namely, 2,000 from the army of the crown, and 1,000 from that of Lithuania. The discipline of the Lithuanian corps shall depend upon the great general of Lithuania; the chief command shall devolve upon the great general of the crown. If the king shall reside in Lithuania, a proportionate number of troops from the army of the crown shall be stationed in that duchy, in the same manner as the Lithuanian corps is quartered at Warsaw with the crown soldiers. The great generals shall be obliged to change the garrison of Warsaw at the request of the permanent council.

2. When

2. When the great generals shall find it expedient to raise new fortifications, they shall present the plan to the permanent council, and the latter to the diet.

3. The permanent council shall make known to the great general, when he should order the absentees to rejoin their regiments.

4. The permanent council, in concert with the great generals, shall regulate the number of soldiers to be furnished by the regiments for the purpose of making high roads, cleansing rivers, and other public works, a representation being previously made, and a plan prescribed, by the commissioners of the treasury: it shall in the same manner fix the pay of the said soldiers; to be assigned from the public fund destined for extraordinary cases, with this exception, that the troops shall be exempted from such services, during the months in which they are exercised or encamped.

5. In case the great generals should act counter to these articles, the permanent council shall first remonstrate; and if that should have no effect, may accuse them of high treason before the diet; if, during the intervals of the ordinary diet, it should be thought necessary to call them to account, the permanent council shall assemble an extraordinary diet for that purpose.

6. The list of extraordinary expences shall be communicated, by the great generals, to the permanent council, before it is laid before the ordinary diet.

7. The discipline, subordination, exercise, and clothing of the troops, the appointment of the spots for the encampment of the divisions, (with this proviso, that never more than one division shall encamp in the same place) in a word, the chief command of the troops shall be vested in the great generals.

8. The nomination and creation of the officers and subalterns, belonging to the committee of war, shall reside in the great generals.

9. In

9. In other points, the generals retain all their antient rights and privileges, not contradicted by these articles.

EXPLANATION and CHANGES of the Constitution of 1768, relative to the Committee of War of both nations.

1. The committee of war shall be composed of six commissioners, as enjoined by the diet of 1768, one half to be taken from persons in the civil line, and the remainder from officers not employed. Among the three military commissioners shall be included of course the generals of the artillery, but without receiving the salary of commissioners. Three commissioners are sufficient to make a board; and if only two should meet, then the notaries of the committee of war of the crown shall assume the place of the absent commissioner, and have a vote; but when there is a requisite number, then the notaries shall only have a deliberative voice.

2. This committee of war shall keep in order, and have the direction of, the military archives.

3. Twice a year it shall receive the reports of the troops relative to the discharge of their pay, and shall send them to the permanent council.

4. Since the troops cannot subsist without pay, nor suffer the least delay in that article, it is enacted, once for all, that the committee of the treasury shall be obliged to employ, for the payment of the said troops, the first money which it receives, and which shall be regularly delivered to the troops every year on the 1st of April and the 1st of October. If it happens that this payment shall not be made at these stipulated times, the great general and the council of war shall be bound to acquaint the permanent

council with this delay; and the permanent council shall immediately authorize the great general and the council of war to procure the sums destined for the pay of the troops.

5. The committee of war shall have the care of the military chest, and shall pay all the troops according to the established calculation. The chest shall be provided with three keys; one whereof shall be kept by the great general, or, in his absence, by the president of the council of war; the second by one of the commissioners of war; and the third by the cashier.

6. The commissioners of war shall judge, as well all causes between soldiers according to the military articles, as all processes brought by the citizens against a soldier in his military capacity: but in case a soldier in his military capacity should aggrieve a citizen, then the plaintiff shall apply to the commander for redress; and if he obtains none, he may cite him before the court of justice of the place where the assault was committed, reserving the appeal to the committee of war.

7. No member of the said committee can be capable of being elected nuntio at the next diet; but the commissioners may be taken from the nuntios of the diet, or from other nobles, promiscuously. A third part of the commissioners may be continued for the next two years, if they have the plurality of ballots in their favour. The same holds good in respect to the senators: and those, who are thus confirmed in their seats for two more years, cannot be elected the third time for the two next years.

8. In other points, not contradictory to these articles, the committee of war of both nations are maintained in their antient rights.

ESTABLISHMENT

ESTABLISHMENT of the Military Department in the Permanent Council.

1. The military department in the permanent council shall receive, twice a year, from the great general, the list of the army, to be examined and inserted in the acts.

2. The great general, having a seat in the council, shall preside in the military department, or, in his absence, the senior of the said department.

3. If any complaints shall be urged against the great or little generals, for not fulfilling the articles prescribed under the title of "The great generals of both nations," the accused, if members of the permanent council, shall not be present at the discussion of the said complaints.

DEPARTMENT IV. The Great Chancellors of both Nations.

1. Each great chancellor, or his colleague the vice-chancellor occupying his place, shall have a committee composed of two senators, and four persons of the equestrian order, to be chosen during the sitting of the diet by ballot, according to the form prescribed in the permanent council, &c.

2. Each of those ministers shall be bound to at least six months residence at Warsaw, upon the assignment of salaries, and each commissioner or assessor to at least four months; that the requisite number of three persons, including the great chancellor, or vice-chancellor, may be present at each meeting. These assessors shall receive each 6,000 florins *per annum*, = £.166. 13s. 4d. and these salaries shall be divided between the assessors who attend.

3. No member of the equestrian order in this committee can be elected nuntio of the next diet, &c.

4. Every month the chancellors shall send to the permanent council a list of all the privileges which have passed the seal.

5. The seals shall remain in the hands of the great and vice-chancellors. The chancellor and vice-chancellor of the crown shall seal, as before, the privileges reserved to the king; and those of Lithuania shall, in the same manner, seal the privileges of that duchy, &c.

6. The great chancellors and vice-chancellors, in case of non-compliance with any of these articles, shall be liable to be cited by the permanent council before the diet.

7. In all other points the chancellors are maintained in their antient privileges, not contradictory to these articles just enumerated.

DEPARTMENT V. Great Treasurers of both Nations.

1. The department of the treasury, composed of members of the permanent council, shall receive from the committee of the treasury of the crown the lists of the ordinary expences, &c. and shall take care that the receipts and expenditures are authorized by the laws.

2. Every month the great treasurer of the crown, and the great treasurer of Lithuania, shall send a report of all the transactions of this department to the permanent council, &c.

3. Whenever one or both the great treasurers are elected members of the permanent council, the first in rank shall preside in this department, composed of the members of the permanent council.

4. The commissioners of the treasury shall receive, and, upon proper deliberation, admit or reject all memorials and plans relative to commerce, the augmentation of the revenues,

ness, the establishment of manufactures, cleansing rivers, cutting canals, forming harbours, making bridges and high roads, erecting buildings, and all other public works, &c. always under the controul of the permanent council.

5. The commissioners of the two nations shall pay from the public funds, destined for that purpose, the extraordinary expences and gratifications, in compliance with the resolutions of the permanent council *in pleno*, &c.

6. The clerks in the committees of the treasury of both nations shall provide for themselves proper securities. The appointment of these clerks shall belong to the great treasurer; but the examination of their qualifications, the approbation or rejection of their securities, shall wholly rest with the committee. The qualifications are,

1. That they are gentlemen.
2. That they find proper securities.
3. That their characters are not infamous.
4. That they are able to write.
5. That they are able to cast accounts.

In case these clerks should discover any notorious incapacity, the committee shall have it in their power to deprive them of their charges.

7. All the writings, decrees, and circular letters, issued by the committee, shall be signed by the treasurers alone; or, in their absence, by the first in rank. In case the treasurers refuse to put the seal to any resolutions passed by the committees, it shall be esteemed valid, if signed by the first in rank next to the treasurer, even in the presence of the latter; and complaints may be urged against the treasurer, for refusing to sign such resolutions.

8. If the great treasurers remove from the place where the committees assemble, they shall be accompanied in their route by fifteen of the treasury troops, provided that no extraordinary expence on that account be incurred by the treasury, and that no damage be suffered by the inhabitants.

9. The

9. The troops of the committee of the treasury shall continue in the same obedience to the great treasurer, and the committee, as enjoined by the diet of 1768; and if any of the officers, appointed by the king's patent, shall deserve punishment, he shall be judged by a court-martial, composed of the officers of the same corps, according to the military articles, and the sentence shall be sent to the committee of war. The number of this corps shall not exceed 500 men, and the sum appropriated for their support shall not surpass that which is settled by the constitution of 1768.

10. If the treasurers disobey any of these articles, the permanent council is bound to remonstrate, and, in case of still further disobedience, to cite them before the diet as guilty of high treason.

11. In other points, the great treasurers are maintained in their antient privileges.

CHANGES and EXPLANATION of the Constitution of 1768, relative to the establishment of the Committee of the Treasury of both Nations.

1. The commissioners of the treasury of the crown shall be composed of the great treasurer of the crown, and of nine commissioners, three senators, and six from the equestrian order, &c.

2. The great treasurers shall be bound to at least four months residence, under pain of losing their salaries proportionable to the time of their absence; and these deductions shall not be divided among the commissioners who are present, but shall be left in the chest. The commissioners are equally bound to four months residence, in order that there may be always present five commissioners (including

one or both treasurers), the requisite number for holding a board. The deductions of the salaries for the absent commissioners shall be divided amongst those who are present.

3. None of the commissioners of the equestrian order can be elected a nuntio for the next diet, &c.

4. From this time there shall be a register apart for those decrees of the committee, which relate to foreign affairs, commerce, and notes of exchange.

What causes shall be brought before the Committees of the treasury.

1. Those relative to the unpacking of merchandize which occasion any delays of transport.

2. Imposts of all sorts payable by the nobility, clergy, and towns.

3. Of contracts of merchants.

4. Of letters of exchange, which shall be further explained in a law apart.

5. Of debts of merchants and workmen.

6. Of weights and measures.

7. Of damages caused to the treasury, or of thefts and negligences of the subalterns, &c.

In all other points, the committees of both nations shall be maintained in all their antient privileges, not contradictory to these articles above mentioned.

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